Henry J. Morgan

1894

FOR CANADA

From Senator Jowan

TRANSPORTATION THE PROBLEM.

Can Campbell

BY

A GRAIN DEALER.

(James B. Campbell)

MONTREAL.

W. FOSTER BROWN & CO.

1893.

INTRODUCTORY

The Census of 1891 for the Dominion of Canada shows that out of our five millions of inhabitants, there are only six hundred and fifty thousand who are not of Canadian birth, and two-thirds of these being in Ontario must represent old settlers, there being no particular difference between the returns of 1881 and 1891 for that Province, in that respect ; leaving only two hundred and fifty thousand, not native born, for all the rest of the Dominion.

In fact, having outgrown our old Provincial limits, we have spread over half the Continent.

Canadians may be congratulated that, at the dawn of their national life, their country is owned by Canadians, and that even with the neighbouring Republic before them they need not fear a comparison.

It seems as though the position which we hold, the Monarchy on one hand and the Republic on the other, with free trade and protection doctrines carried out in practice, allows us a more favourable opportunity of judging of the merits of each than is usually offered to a nation starting into life. Situated between the two, we are in a position to adopt whichever policy we choose, with no one but ourselves to blame if we choose the wrong one.

In putting these notes into print, be it understood that, while entering a protest against Protection, I am not assuming any position of superior wisdom, but only giving expression to views which I trust will be found to establish my case in favour of the freedom of Canadian trade from the incubus with which it has been saddled.

The general policy advocated is a very considerable reduction of the tariff in favour of English goods, ~~or the goods of any other free trade people~~, and a moderate reduction only in favour of protectionist countries, especially of the United States, until such time as the independent seaboard tariffs approach a basis common enough to warrant a free exchange along our land line.

While Mr. Hincks (afterwards Sir Francis) advocated a policy somewhat on these lines in 1852, his was one of retaliation only,

going to the extreme of prohibiting the Americans the use of our canals. The difference between the Canada of 1852 and that of 1892 may be illustrated in the value of her exports, represented by $15,300,000 as against $114,000,000 to-day. At that time, and for nearly thirty years after, we represented the wants of an Upper and Lower Canada, as they were called; now we must figure upon those of half a continent.

There is no retaliation proposed, but on the contrary every effort is advocated to secure a treaty with the United States, favouring an exchange of the products of the forest, the farm, the mine, the sea, and of any other article which they can admit freely, with due regard to their own interests, on the basis that the high contracting parties maintain the same liberty of control over their own seaboard tariffs and internal revenue which they hold at present.

With the exception of the four products named, very little could be done at first; but with an agent at Washington, doubtless many articles could in time be worked on to the free list between the two countries, and obviously the greater the reductions made in the respective seaboard tariffs the larger would become this free list along the land line. Meantime we could reduce our own taxes by favouring exchange with the great free trade nation of Europe.

The enormous advantage of unfettered trade is the creed of a free trader, and it is not intended that any words relating to the maintenance of the independent position of Canada should be construed into an assertion of the undesirability of closer trade relations with the United States. The impossibility of attaining this along the land line upon goods, either raw or manufactured, upon which we impose a lower seaboard tariff than do the United States, is the point maintained.

The next best thing to universal free trade is the freest exchange possible with free trade nations. The base of my whole argument is, that no general reciprocity treaty can be negotiated with any protectionist country without carrying with it protection against any free trade country. It is not possible to ride two horses at once.

The problem of transportation, now looming up as one of the most important of the day, is inseparably bound up with the question of free trade and protection. The development of Canada with its Pacific railroad is stirring matters up along the whole line of the

Northern States from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and its influence is being reflected in Washington. I do not believe that I am mistaken when I say, that it is exceedingly fortunate for Canada, and in the long run for the United States, that those who for the past four years have held the reins of power in that country have been forced to yield them up at the bidding of the electoral.

In old days, Chicago and Milwaukee were the ports of shipment for Minnesota wheat, the most northerly at that time procurable; now Lake Superior commands that trade, and with the development of the still more northerly wheat lands that inland sea must be their point of shipment. The only question at issue is, to which seaport shall it go,—New York or Montreal? There can be no question as to its natural outlet. Canada has her eyes fixed on the inland transportation problem, but all shippers of grain from the interior know that the true difficulty lies in the limited amount of ocean tonnage available in Montreal. The pressure to export via the St. Lawrence and the limited imports for Canada place ocean tonnage outward bound about one shilling a quarter, say, three cents a bushel higher than in the competing port of New York, (1) and to just this extent is the trade via Montreal at a discount.

Canada lays out millions of money in canals on the one hand, and on the other checks free imports at her only seaport capable of competing with New York; and, while paying interest on the outlay, taxes herself on her ocean shipments in addition, to say nothing of the indirect taxes, the result of the tariff.

The volume of export trade of the port of Montreal has increased greatly of late years, but so has the production of grain, vastly; a one horse establishment may do an increasing business, but it is quite a different question, whether it is a satisfactory one, when another outfit has a steam engine in the same line.

To allude once more to the Census, it reports 367,496 men, women, boys and girls (2) engaged in the "industrial establishments" throughout the country. From these, when we deduct not only the number which are in no way benefited by the tariff, but those to whom it is a positive injury, the result left for this high-sounding

(1) May freights, this year, as this goes to press, are more even than usual. See Appendix.

(2) The men are reported as 270,764.

national policy is surprisingly small. Of what benefit is our tariff to saw mills, flour mills, cheese factories, fish canneries, electric light and gas works, and a line of other industries which exist quite independent of the tariff? (3) But the report on page 5 Census bulletin No. 8 is of itself sufficient to condemn a policy of protection for our country. It appears that the number of hands employed in "Industries," in the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario, in 1871, was 187,942, while in 1891 it had risen to 342,661 (including blacksmiths and many other industries not of a primary character), showing a gain of 154,719 hands in the four Provinces in twenty years. This is truly magnificent, and should be remembered whenever any protectionist makes use of high-sounding phrases: one hundred and fifty-four thousand seven hundred and nineteen additional hands in twenty years, two-thirds of which have been solidly protection.

Canada is so thinly populated as yet, and the market so small, that it does not pay to tax 90 per cent. of the people for the support of the remaining 10 per cent. So far as their maintenance and welfare are concerned, it would pay better to pension them. As a matter of fact, the figures quoted representing men, women and children, a glance at the Appendix will quickly reduce those absolutely dependent on the tariff to a number below 10 per cent. of the whole population, and for the support of these in their particular lines of manufacture every one else is taxed.

I am conscious that in the trade and transportation arguments of the following pages, the reader will find little if anything which is not as old as "The wealth of nations;" but in many journeys across the continent, the parallel in the position of the producer on the United States Pacific coast,—cut off by a sea of arid wastes from the great centres of population,—with the producer in our own great West, beyond our wilderness, is to me so striking, that I feel that no other apology is necessary for calling attention, as clearly as I may, in "My Notes from a Car Window" and "Transportation the Problem for Canada," to the position which this question of transportation holds in the future success of our country.

JAMES B. CAMPBELL.

(3) See Append x.

THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

A SKETCH.

In the Canada of my boyhood, (1860), the openings for young men were decidedly limited. The two Provinces of Ontario and Quebec,—Upper and Lower Canada as they were called,—were all that there was of the country. Northward the wilderness, with its forbidding climate, westward the wilds of Lake Superior district, unopened, and only part and parcel of an unknown land, a land barred from settlement by charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, and advertised by them as a wilderness unfitted for the abode of civilized man. To the East, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia offered few elements of advancement, so that unless one was to move on in the groove in which he had been born, there was nothing left for it but go to the States, and to Chicago my destiny carried me.

Since those days, however, all that has been changed: the Dominion of Canada has been created, and we are now opening up the country at as rapid a rate as our resources will permit.

The history of Canada is not lacking in interest. Were it not for the overshadowing of the neighbouring Republic, the development of our Constitutional government would attract more attention than it has done in the past.

Before the American Revolutionary War, the Canada of old colony days represented only the lately conquered French settlements on the banks of the St. Lawrence, altogether about a hundred thousand people, principally of Norman French descent.

What is now the Province of Ontario was practically unoccupied, while very little impression had been made on the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; but with the recognition of the independence of the American colonies a great change took place: the Tory party, representing an influential minority, found itself in these Independent States in an exceedingly uncomfortable position; in fact, notwithstanding the broad principles of the Declaration of Independence, the victors in this New England behaved in a manner worthy not only of the Parliamentary tyranny of the Restoration, but also of the reign of the green coats in that older England from which the Revolutionists had sprung.

During the struggle, estates had been confiscated right and left; a farm a short distance outside of what were then the limits of the city of New York, and bought by a gentleman of the name of Astor, is an example. After the peace, systematic persecutions prevailed, under which many returned to England, while an emigration unparalleled in numbers since the Huguenots, and known as that of United Empire Loyalists, headed for Canada. Ontario, which up to that time had lain an unbroken wilderness, was opened up under the woodman's axe, and to those men, the Pilgrim Fathers of English Canada, must be allowed every sentiment, every tribute of respect with which it is usual to clothe the Pilgrims of the Atlantic Coast. In both cases they lived up to their convictions, and sought in a freer atmosphere that liberty which had been denied them at home.

It is not my purpose to write a history of Canada, for the steps by which these men obtained Constitutional government some Canadian history must be consulted; but the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States in 1861 found Ontario and Quebec united under one government, called Canada, while New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia were so many self-governing colonies, independent of each other and differing very little from the status of the old Thirteen Colonies.

They all, including British Columbia, enjoyed the benefit of a common reciprocity treaty with the United States, and their trade, except during the Crimean War, was in the main with that country.

The various questions which had arisen between England and the United States, during the Civil War, had caused a considerable amount of irritation in both countries; sometimes wholly English or United States questions, sometimes the broils and friction brought about by designing men along our own frontier. But the outcome of the war, so far as Canada was concerned, was, that the United States, acting within their treaty rights, gave a twelve months' notice of the abrogation of this reciprocity treaty.

Most of our people considered this action of theirs as a necessity consequent upon the rearrangement of their tariff. Since then, however, more light has been thrown on the subject, and we find Sir Charles Tupper (in his report to the Dominion Government) authority for the assertion that Mr. Blaine told him that the treaty had been abrogated in order to punish Canada for her sympathy with the South.

At the date referred to, Charles Sumner was a leading politician in the Republican party; his sentiments are now very generally known; anything which would help to drive the English flag from this Continent found favor in his sight. General Grant is authority for the statement, that no settlement of the "Alabama" case could be arrived at with England, until Mr. Sumner had been removed from the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations. So that there was, doubtless, a great deal of truth in Mr. Blaine's assertion. However that may be, feeling ran high against Canada; and whatever may have been the sentiments of the United States before the war, or since then, there was in that day very little love lost on anything British: Canada coming in for her fair share of the dislike.

Fortunately, the idea of our dependence upon their markets for our existence prevailed in that day as much as it does in this, and it was the opinion of the Republican leaders that their tariff wall would speedily bring us to whatever terms they chose to dictate, and their policy was to allow time to work the inevitable solution.

The loss of this reciprocity treaty made it simply impossible for these semi-independent colonies to maintain their Custom Houses against each other; and as a matter of fact there was nothing left for them but Confederation or Annexation.

All this happened, too, at a time when a school of politicians had arisen in England, who, in a state of disgust at the expenses and troubles brought upon them by their South African Colonies, declared all colonies to be a weakness instead of a strength to the kingdom, and advocated their being got rid of as soon as possible. Fortunately these ideas found little favor with the English people, and on statisticians proving that the Colonies, even on a protection and self-governing basis, took twice the amount of English goods, in proportion to their population, that Foreign nations did, the croakers changed their tune before any harm had been done.

The Republicans, in the meantime, occupied with the re-construction of the Southern States, remained content with their tariff wall effectually shutting us out from their markets; and the pressure thus applied to the various divided communities north of their line was one of the leading causes which resulted in the creation of the present Dominion.

We have a great deal to be grateful for; to the whole section of

the Republican party which looked to Mr. Charles Sumner for guidance do we owe our present united state. It is reported, how good the authority I know not, that someone over the border has said or written, that the way to get Canada is to divide it; this is without doubt true, and it is a great consolation to remember, that it was those great and good men who freed and enfranchised their colored brothers in the South, at a time when we were all divided amongst ourselves, who also did what was in their power to assist loyal subjects like Sir John A. Macdonald to create a united State upon their North.

A parallel to this may be found in the history of the Thirteen Colonies. The efforts which their leading statesmen made to reconcile their differences suggest the question: What was there in common between the planter of Virginia and the Puritan of Massachusetts other than a common danger? It was the mistaken policy of George III and of the English people which bound them together in the first instance; in a like manner, without some such hostile pressure, the provinces composing this Dominion, French and English, would not so readily have given up their independence. As it is, Newfoundland, owing to her Island position, prefers to remain outside of the Confederation.

A case in point may be seen in Australia to-day; with all the encouragement and assistance of England, but without pressure of any kind, the statesmen of the Antipodes have found it impossible as yet to bring the people together under one head. In their case there is neither a George III nor a United States.

Our Canada up to date has not succeeded in attracting the emigrant for whom she has been catering; the last census, showing only 4,850,000 people, was a disappointment. That the rate of increase, too, had not been equal to that of the United States, was eagerly taken hold of by the press on the other side of the line and the opponents of the government on this side, as proving that under existing conditions the Dominion is not able to hold her own in competition with the United States.

Time alone will solve that problem; but it may be asserted here, that whatever may be said against our laws and institutions, it will be difficult to find a country in which there is proportionately less abject poverty than there is in Canada. Poor people there are, and

plenty of them, but everyone is making a living, and their general appearance is that of being well clothed, well housed and well fed.

The causes operating against as rapid an average increase as has taken place in the United States in the same time are easily stated :—

The United States, in the first place, have had the ear of the public, and have been the great absorbent of the emigrant masses of Europe, while Canada, until the Canadian Pacific Railway became a fact, has been a virtual *terra incognita*. The difference between the territorial signification of Canada, before and after the creation of the Dominion, must always be remembered. Contrast for one moment the old Canada, going no further West than the State of Michigan, with the present Dominion stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Of the great West we had no more control before Confederation than the United States had, and until quite recently the world in general did not consider it worth anything. Under these disadvantages, with the energetic United States in the possession of the emigrant market, it has not been possible for Canada in the short time since the opening of the Canada Pacific Railway to turn the tide. In the second place, Canada has been handicapped with the reputation of her climate ; the climatic disadvantages of the old Provinces have been freely applied to new Canada ; so that while Minnesota and the Dakotas have gained, and have in part lived on the reputation of the United States, Manitoba and the far West have been correspondingly saddled with a reputation which they do not deserve.

The flow of emigration to the United States has now been checked, and, as emigrants make a success of it in our country, the road to increased population will be easier, every letter to the native village doing more real advertising than a ton of printed circulars.

The ratio of increase, however, will never equal that of the United States ; their land extends over so many degrees of latitude that it can offer a home to all manner of men. The Southern climate suits the negro and the Italian, as well as the political atmosphere of their Northern cities does the natives of the Emerald Isle ; and where these races find a congenial home they multiply like flies.

It is hard in this line of business, however, to beat the French Canadian, but he has only the original stock to maintain his increase with; it must nevertheless be admitted that he represents very well.

On the other hand, new settlers for Canada can only be drawn from those who, in bettering their condition, leave the shores of Northern Europe or those in whose veins flows Northern blood.

At date, statistics show that the emigrant to this Continent has been deteriorating in quality,—in other words, the percentage has been increasing from Southern Europe, and in the milder climate of the Southern and Central States most of these find their homes.

The old Eastern Provinces of the Dominion, like the old Eastern States of the Union, have in the last decade done little more than hold their own in population. The reason for this is the same in both cases. Emigration goes past them, and their own people drift westward; indeed, had it not been for an emigration of French Canadians into the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and even Massachusetts, these States would have made a very poor showing in the last Census.

Meantime, Canada is rapidly removing the prejudice caused by the lack of general information regarding the true nature of the country; and as it becomes more evident that the best and most available arable land in the United States has been picked over, and passed into first hands, it is to be expected that the tide will ere long turn in our direction, and being too far North for the less desirable class of emigrants, we shall succeed in building up our country on our own lines of thought and sentiment, and giving homes to a class of men free from the political and vicious taint with which the Republic is unfortunately being glutted.

THE FEELING IN THE UNITED STATES WITH REGARD TO CANADA.

While on the surface Jingoism is a trump card in the United States, especially where the flag of England is concerned; yet there is nothing surer than that Jingoism, pure and simple, falls flat. The very latest example, that of Chili, (1) is a case in point; the common sense and self-respect of every American worthy of the name received a shock at the spectacle which his country afforded. Sixty-five millions of people, versus two millions just emerged from civil war; let anyone look over the back numbers of, say, the *Chicago Tribune* for those few months, and say what he thinks of a spirited foreign policy, so called.

It does not seem, either, that the tail-twisting Irishman is as popular as he was some years ago, but that is merely on account of his having made himself a nuisance.

Unfortunately, the flag of England still brings the bull to the charge. We might feel that, after all, this hostility is but skin deep, and dismiss it with the rest of the Jingoism, incidental to a state of eternal politics, were it not that our senses are simply stunned by productions such as "Twenty Years of Congress," by James G. Blaine; and this statesman was intrusted with almost supreme power by the American people, after having produced a work which is a disgrace to his name and reputation as an American citizen. If he did not know the people of the United States, then who does? That he was "knifed" by his friends last year may only prove that they were wrong; and when he thought proper to rejuvenate the old exploded charges against England, he must either have believed in them or have been of the opinion that they were acceptable in that form to the American people.

The chapters which he devotes to England are simply a travesty of history, half truths cleverly vamped up as historical facts, and on reading them one is forced to the conviction that so long as the Americans accept such histories of their own time as good author-

(1) And now Hawaii.

rity, we cannot expect them to have any particularly good neighbourly feeling for those who maintain the flag of England on this Continent.

That there should be a race of men upon their Northern frontier who not only prefer the liberty as represented by this flag of England to that of the United States, but who fail to become enthusiastic over their success or their institutions, to the length of expressing any desire of joining them, surpasses their comprehension; that this anomalous state of affairs is only of a temporary character; that there can be no question of "the inevitable destiny," it being only "a question of time," is their idea, existing since the foundation of the Republic; and it is not only the idea of the masses, but of their reading men; it crops out everywhere—in fact, they cannot see how Canada can get along without joining them.

It is not very long ago that the prevailing opinion was that Canada was in some manner held in check, in bondage, and governed by England; troops were quartered on us, we could not be free. Did we not contribute money to England? did we not contribute men? Were we not forced to admit English goods free of duty? Questions such as these were of frequent occurrence. In the past few years, however, a great change has taken place, and with the exception of the question of taxing English goods, a tolerably correct idea of the status of Canada is general throughout the States.

The people of that country, one and all, declare that until Canada comes of her own free will, they do not want her; as for conquest, they would never think of it. Of course, this is only in the days of peace. In the event of war with England, they would hold the country, and try and arrange matters, so that when peace came they would not have to give it up; but they assert that, barring international complications, conquest by force is simply out of the question. Now, this is all very well, but there are different kinds of force and different ways of using it. The wars of armed men may or may not be gradually becoming more discredited; but what may be called the commercial warfare of this century is a force which it is considered perfectly consistent with friendly sentiments to use; and this is what the United States are doing to day. If by any possibility they could squeeze Canada through a tariff, there is—could the problem

of the French State be satisfactorily disposed of—hardly a man in the Northern States who would not do it. The manufacturers, in the perfection of their combinations, would have new markets; the politicians of the Eastern and Northern States would receive accessions to their ranks in the persons of Senators and Representatives from the border, and half a dozen new States round the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, that in any sectional question would vote with them; the Anglophobe would have the satisfaction of seeing the hated emblem of England driven from this Continent, while the patriotic citizen would contemplate with satisfaction the whole continent of America under the star-spangled banner.

To the Southern portion of their country this prospective Elysium does not carry the charm that it does to the Eastern and Northern. The States grouping round the Gulf of Mexico would not contemplate with unmixed satisfaction the increase of the voting power of their New England and North Western friends. As a party, the Democrats opposed the admission of the Dakotas, Montana, Washington, Idaho and Wyoming into the Union as States, and the Southerners, not seeing their way to the acquisition of a balancing weight in Mexico, would at least prefer a Canada with which they would not have to figure, to an unknown quantity of free and enlightened States, carrying with it an unlimited increase of Northern power.

THE FEELING IN CANADA WITH REGARD TO THE UNITED STATES.

While the struggle in the Thirteen Colonies was creating American sentiment, the then Canada was entirely French. Consequently, it is a little too much to expect that the descendants of those Norman settlers in Quebec can have any sentiment in common with the descendants of those who under Washington made their country,—more especially as the French are in the hands of a clever and ambitious priesthood who teach them to look to Rome, and who educate their children to that end. For this as well as for the support of the Church of Rome established in the land, the law made and maintained by themselves gives the curé right to collect taxes on the land and tithes on the crops. That this is a law and a sentiment entirely antagonistic to the institutions of the United States is obvious to the most superficial observer: that if they were joined to the United States the power of this Church would be broken is well known to their leaders, and, under these circumstances, until the Church in the United States feels itself strong enough to carry Quebec into the Union as a solid Roman Catholic State with all its present rights, it is difficult to see how annexation can ever be permitted in Canada to come within the range of practical politics. Of the English-speaking element within the Dominion the bulk consists of the native-born descendants of those who in early days emigrated from the Independent States. It is hardly possible to conceive of a state of affairs which would bring these men forward as annexationists now. They and the French element mainly constitute public opinion in the old provinces, and amongst them a distinctly Canadian sentiment is springing up—a sentiment born of the Dominion; and, should we make a success of our new country, the day is far distant when they will voluntarily turn the power and self-government now in their own hands over to the control of a central body located in Washington.

Another class of men represent the descendants of those whose fathers or grandfathers, on leaving their old homes, chose deliberately, with the Republic on one side and the Colonies on the other,

to follow the fortunes of the old flag, in preference to those of the new. With self-government and perfect freedom secured to the French, it will have to be a very dire and dismal state of affairs in Canada which will carry conviction to those men that we are a failure, and bring with it an application for admission into the American Union.

There are some amongst us, too, who, having recently left their homes in Europe or the United States, have not yet abandoned their fireside sentiments, and in their new Country are perhaps too outspoken regarding its future destiny. It is not to be expected that these raw recruits should bloom out enthusiastic Canadians all at once; in time they will work round, but, in the meantime, they must be treated in this country in exactly the same manner in which the corresponding article is handled in the United States. How many times on the Chicago Board of Trade have I seen an obnoxious Britisher stumped with, "Well, if you don't like the country, what are you here for?"

When one goes to Rome, one must do as the Romans do; and except for the fact that I was engaged in the Canadian and English trade, I doubt if there was an American on that board who would have gathered from any remark of mine that I was not an American citizen. The only occasion that I remember, on which I got it over the knuckles, was at a social gathering in that city. I had spent the previous winter in Europe, south of the Alps, and in allusion to a horrible winter storm raging at the particular moment, I remarked to a lady friend that in the formation of this country a great mistake had been made in running the mountain ranges North and South instead of East and West. "Well, but you must not run down the country you are making your living in," was the crushing and unexpected rejoinder. Forever afterwards I dealt lightly with mountain ranges and everything else.

We in Canada are now repeating the early history of that Republic. The Americans of that day who were weak had no confidence in their future. A stiff-necked generation came to Canada, in preference to moving elsewhere in that land and kissing the rod; but in their country, the United States of to-day represent the survival of the fittest amongst them. So it is with us; it depends upon Cana-

dians whether our Dominion is to be a success or not. Against many of the advantages which we possess we have the disadvantage of standing face to face with an aggressive Republic of twelve times our population; we happen, too, to be in possession of something which they want,—an outlet for their coming generation. I believe that our great emigration will come from the States, and we must be prepared to assert ourselves as Canadians, and guard well our nationality within the Empire; like the Pilgrims of Massachusetts, we must worship our own God in our own way, and make other people do the same.

That the Americans do not like what they choose to call the development of un-American institutions on their Northern border is easy to perceive; but it is certainly to be regretted that they do not recognize the facts as they stand, and not as what they would wish them to be. The continual "inevitable destiny" cry is not only misleading, but causes some irritation on this side. It is manifest to us that annexation will only follow upon our failure to govern ourselves according to our own ideas (whatever our own ideas may be) or the bankruptcy of our country. To have this incessantly dinned into one's ears as the only result in the end is, to say the least of it, not the most agreeable tone for our candid and assertive friend to take, and must represent either total ignorance of the sentiment of Canadians, coupled with such exaggerated and egotistical ideas regarding the perfection of his own institutions, and the greatness of his own country, as to completely blind him to any sentiment not identical with his own; or the wish must be the father to the thought, and that we may not succeed is his hope.

There are some Americans whose pleasure at the prospect, or supposed prospect, of our joining them may be frankly accepted as the highest compliment; but where this only represents antipathy to England, it is of course quite a different affair. With regard to such Americans we can only regret that they miss the point of Canadian sentiment. That we have aspirations of our own, and that these aspirations do not point to Washington, is the result as much of the action of the people of the United States as of anything else. For twenty-five years from the death of Louis XVI, England had been engaged in fighting in every quarter of the Globe, and her

armies absorbed the surplus population. During these years the foundations of English Canada were laid by those United Empire Loyalists who had been driven out of the United States, and by them alone. (1)

History shows how the revolutionists lost the affection and sympathy of the French; and now, coming down to our own day, we find the descendants of those two classes falling into the possession of a country, the possibilities of which they are only beginning to appreciate.

To understand the change which has taken place in the past few years, it would be well for Americans to remember, that inasmuch as no single State in their own Union had any real control over the territories of the United States, in a far less degree had the people of old Canada any control over the vast territories which now comprise the Dominion. Over these uninhabited lands the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company ruled, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and this charter had as much validity and force as those which created their original Thirteen Colonies. Besides, it existed before those men who had been driven out of the independent States had organized sufficiently to obtain Constitutional government. In fact, it antedated the Revolutionary War by exactly one hundred years.

While it is true that in point of population Canada is at the moment out of the race, yet the resources of the Dominion are more nearly a match for those of the United States than any other possible on this Continent, and are a factor in its future development which they must acknowledge and count with. Meantime, we are fed daily with such information as this: "The Canadian annexation boom," and "annexation is desirable because it would open up a new market for the products of this country." The Chicago *Herald* has lately permitted itself to drift into the usual line of American journalism regarding us. We are told by it that "The portion of North America to which the most thrifty and enterprising of our own natural increase must in a few years look for new homes belongs to Canada. In the great North-Western provinces there is an empire of unsurpassed fertility, whose products are being brought

(1) The only marked exception was as an emigration of Irish, the result of the trouble of '98.

every year nearer to the market by the trunk lines and branches—an empire which must become in time the home of a thriving and prosperous people." Just so; and this empire is Canada. Open your eyes, Mr. Editor, and see what is going on about you.

Let us overhaul, from a Canadian standpoint, this sickening annexation twaddle so common amongst Americans. We are always assured of the grandeur of the destiny before us, as part of the American Union: one government, one language, one grand Republic, one flag to the North Pole, and one race,—the inevitable destiny. This would be all very well, were we not CANADIANS; but Americans should remember when addressing us, that, although we may not be as outspoken as they are, they are dealing with a set of men as proud of their own nationality as ever were the fathers of their American Republic; and that every sentiment which nerved them in that past day to create a State lives on their Northern frontier to day with exactly the same life and being. We know as well as do the people of the American Union the destiny that is before us. We know that within our Empire is to be the home of a thrifty and prosperous people, and that they will represent the most enterprising of those born upon this free Continent of America to-day. We know, too, that it rests with the people of the United States to declare, whether this people on their North shall be a friendly or a hostile nation. We would not repeat the history of the last century between the United States and the United Kingdom; we would not create a sentiment in our children towards the United States such as the United States nurses towards that older State. But the sooner the people of the Republic understand that we have achieved our Continental independence of them in trade, sentiment and national aspirations, the better will it be for those who are destined to live side by side on this Continent of America. They may rest assured that there is amongst us some feeling of independence, but, except amongst a few hybrid Canadians, none for the obliteration of Canada from the face of the world. Could these same United States citizens feel the force of the remarks which they are never tired of cramming down our throats, they would at once see the absurdity of such sky-soaring as they indulge in at present. How would it sound for British statesmen and writers to

offer them the marvellous advantages of a return to their allegiance: a Queen, an Aristocracy, one Flag, one Empire upon which the sun never sets; and dominant over the rest, and above all—glory be unto those who preach anything like it—one race politically bound together under one constitution! Yet it is just such stuff with which they dose us, in their desire to "open up new markets for this country." The true way to open up new markets is to recognize freedom of thought as well as freedom of trade, and to work away from the narrow ideas and prejudices, the result of the veritable Chinese wall with which they have encircled what they fell heir to.

Much as we admire the United States and appreciate their success, we prefer to carve out a destiny of our own; and the Northern half of this Continent, preserved to us by the colonizing instinct inherent in the Anglo-Saxon race, gives us the desired opportunity. If this be strange or perhaps a crime, then great is our fault; but for any of our friends to the South to look upon our attempt to create a State as one of unfriendliness to them or their institutions is as great an error as for anyone on our side to shut his eyes to American sentiment, and call upon them to return to their allegiance and throw in their lot with our Empire.

We have on either hand great questions to solve. Senator Hoar, speaking of the South, on the floor of the Senate, said:—"The person hears the sound of my voice this moment who in his lifetime will see fifty millions of negroes dwelling in those States."

The most serious problem for the people of the United States is the negro problem. Statisticians declare that the blacks have doubled in population since the war, but they find comfort in the fact that the ratio of increase has not equalled that of the whites. A hundred years may be a very long time in the life of a man, but is a mere bagatelle in that of a nation. At the rate indicated, the wants of over seventy-five millions of negroes, if the land will maintain them, will have to be consulted before A. D. 2000. The colored brother is not to be sneezed at. Why should we place ourselves within the sphere of such a question? Canadians are of the opinion that they know a great deal better what they want than the negroes of Louisiana can tell them.

The election of Mr. Cleveland may or may not make any particular difference to us so far as reciprocity is concerned; therefore, let us for a moment review the past two years of the now doomed McKinleyism.

We have been told by the late Mr. Blaine that, so far as he could help it, he "would not permit the Canadian the sentimental satisfaction of waving the British flag, paying British taxes and enjoying the cash remuneration of American markets;" nor, he is also reported to have said, did he "mean that they should be Canadians and Americans at the same time." (1) However laudable and patriotic such sentiments may sound in American ears, their tendency is to create a feeling amongst us which cannot be called one of unqualified satisfaction; and the determination to maintain our own in spite of American hostility has only to be expressed to be understood. Of course, he knew perfectly well that our paying British taxes was all nonsense. His reciprocity card carried with it a great attraction for the American mind; under it they were to open South American ports to United States produce and manufactures, and to shut them to the manufactures of all others, and to England in particular. Anxious as they were for reciprocity, however, the only offer which they would make Canada was one which it was utterly out of her power to accept. The demand, when stripped of verbiage, was, that we clear away the Custom Houses along the frontier, and maintain a seaboard tariff against the rest of the world,—in fact, free exchange in everything with the United States. This at first glance looks well, apparently it was a fair and equitable proposition; but it carried with it the transfer of our fiscal arrangements to Washington, out of our own control. Of course, our seaboard tariff would have to be assimilated to that of the United States, that country not proposing to allow us to import raw material or manufactures at a less duty than they themselves do, and then enter their markets with them. Any change in their own tariff, which the people of the United States demand, would be made at Washington for the benefit of the people of the United States, and, under the treaty, our people would have to conform to the new schedule, even were it a detriment to Canada. It is

(1) Speeches in August, 1888.

universally conceded that all tariff is a tax, and if this does not represent taxation without representation, what then does it represent? Have we not read in history of a very vigourous protest against the principle involved?

Then, too, Canada has a debt. It is extremely unfortunate, not to say unpleasant, that this should be the case; and if the Canadian seaboard tariff and internal revenue (the internal revenue schedules must also conform to those of the United States) failed in producing sufficient funds for the expenses of our government and the interest of our debt, where was the balance of cash to come from, except by direct taxation? Would the United States in framing their tariff care at all for the necessities of the Canadians indulging in the "luxury of waving the British flag." What it all amounts to is, that, if we are to be independent of the United States, we must maintain the independence of our tariff.

A Zollverein may be dismissed as simply moonshine.

Under these circumstances, is Canada helpless? Were not English markets open, she certainly would be; but as in the main she produces everything which the Northern States do, she has nothing to fear. The sudden imposition of the McKinley tariff, of course, upset established trade, but, like a stream of water suddenly blocked, it found a new channel. Over two years have now elapsed since that celebrated law came into operation. It may be claimed that it was purely American legislation for American interests, and levelled against the world at large and no one in particular; but with Canada stretching along 3,000 miles of their border, against whom were the agricultural clauses levelled, if not at Canada? Except a few potatoes and other vegetables, who else ships one cent's worth of agricultural product into the United States? With all the talk of reciprocity on one hand, and the refusal to deal on any but bankruptcy terms with Canada on the other, the claim of the Republican party, that their legislation was simply for the benefit of their own farming industry, will not stand the test of this question. Had Canada knuckled down, and admitted the manufactures of the United States free of duty, what was to become of the protection of this late pet of the Republican party, the United States farmer?

The McKinley tariff is now doomed. It is probable that its effect on us has not been as detrimental to our interests as has our own system of protection. Our financial institutions do not seem to have suffered in consequence of McKinleyism. Investment stocks compare favourably with New York stock quotations :

	Feb. 1, 1889.	Feb. 3, 1893.
Bank of Montreal	225½	236½
Ontario Bank	126	119
Molsons Bank	157	174
Bank of Toronto	212½	254
Merchants' Bank	137	167
Quebec Bank	115	130
Banque Nationale	83	100
Eastern Townships Bank	125	140
Union Bank	93	102
Canadian Bank of Commerce	118	145
Hochelaga Bank	90	128
Montreal Telegraph Co	88¾	153
Montreal Street Railway	189½	184
Montreal City Gas	198¼	234
Montreal Cotton Co	80	154
Merchants' Manfg. Co	65	160
Montreal Loan & Mortgage Co	112	132½
Bell Telephone Co	90	163
Canadian Pacific Railway	51½	86⅜

NEW YORK STOCK QUOTATIONS.

Northern Pacific Railway, common.	25¾	18¼
Northern Pacific Railway, preferred.	60⅜	49¾
Chicago, B. & Quincy	109⅞	102½
Delaware & Hudson	137⅝	135
Lake Shore	103¾	130
Pullman Car	197	197½
Rock Island	98⅞	87½
St. Paul, common	65⅝	81
St. Paul, preferred	102¼	122¼
Union Pacific	64⅛	41

One or two attempts have been made to negotiate reciprocity treaties with the States,—our Ministers have been charged with being the real obstructionists; but Mr. J. W. Foster, upon whose shoulders had fallen the mantle of Mr. Blaine, has told the whole story at the annual dinner of the New York Board of Trade.

He is reported to have said: "But it may be said, if this be true, why not extend it to our Canadian neighbours on the North? The first answer is that with our tropical neighbours whose products are so dissimilar to ours, reciprocity is a simple matter; but when we come to deal with a country having thousands of miles of conterminous territory, and with like products and industry, the question becomes more complex. But this is not the insuperable difficulty. The fact that Canada does not possess the right of negotiating her own treaties, but must have them negotiated by a distant power which is controlled by economic principles entirely different from those of the United States and Canada, constitutes the chief barrier to any arrangement, so long as other interests than those of Canada are to control the negotiations for commercial relations. With such neighbours as recognize American (in its broadest sense) as paramount to European influence in this hemisphere, to all such countries we should open the doors of trade as wide and as freely as the interests of our own established industries would permit. Beyond that, the spirit of genuine Americanism does not require or permit us to go."

This "insuperable difficulty" had not prevented these very men negotiating a treaty with Jamaica and the British West India Islands, and also with Cuba and Spain. Our Ministers must be excused if they failed to transact business, when they had to deal with a man capable of uttering such unmitigated nonsense before men well known for their shrewdness and business ability. If it were an attempt to say nothing, it was about the most clumsy effort on record.

However, we have a new set of men to deal with in the United States, and they may refuse to negotiate reciprocity treaties with anyone, on the broad ground that such treaties can only mean more or less protection.

Far better for Canada would it be to reduce her own tariff all round, independent of everyone, than to bind herself in a general treaty with any country maintaining a tariff for protection.

WOULD CANADA HAVE BEEN BETTER OFF TO-DAY HAD SHE JOINED THE THIRTEEN COLONIES IN 1774?

Here again we must draw a line between the old and the new Canada: the new Canada, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, is all in the future. With the past, however, Canada is the old Canada, including New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

Is it so very certain that the part of the Continent now under consideration would have done any better as part of the American Union?

Let us look for a moment at the State of Maine, lying on one extreme of our Country. There is a State with all the climatic disadvantages with which old Canada has had to struggle; and in its favor, it has not only had the advantage of an open sea-board, but of the free American market—the market of sixty-five millions of people which we sometimes hear about. Its sea-coast draws tourists from all parts of America; but, with that exception, does anyone ever go to Maine? How much ahead of Canada is the State of Maine? This State, it is true, has produced the Hon. James G. Blaine, and with that it must remain content: nature in all probability owed some counterpoise.

Everything which may be said of Maine may be said of the States of Vermont and New Hampshire. State reports give us lists of farms abandoned or unsaleable; and yet, had Canada joined the States one hundred and twenty years ago, of what would she have been possessed which these States have not been in possession of ever since?

To the extreme west of old Canada stands the State of Michigan, another State in possession of that free market of sixty-five millions of people. (1) The most southerly part of it has benefited by the emigrant wave settling and passing westward; but northward it is yet the wilderness of the lumberman, and backwoods to all intents and purposes.

In view of the fact that until about twenty-five years back, the whole drift of emigration had been to the West and West Central States, it

(1) The Census of 1891 gives Michigan 2,093,889. The Canadian Census of 1891 gives Ontario 2,114,321.

is not too much to assert that had the country known as Canada been only the far North-East of the United States, it would not have attained its present standard of development. To say nothing of the railroads, the incentive to open up the Country with canals would certainly have been less; the energies and the attention of the people would have been diverted into other channels, and, with the exception of that strip between Buffalo and Detroit, it would have remained equal in value to the lumber regions of Michigan and Maine. Certainly, Toronto is far ahead of any city on the American shore of Lake Ontario.

It is worthy of note that the Americans have not yet cut a canal connecting Lakes Erie and Ontario. Why has an enterprising nation omitted doing this? Will anyone believe that the asserted military consideration has been the reason for the long delay?

The sentiment of New York State is to throw everything possible into the Erie Canal at Buffalo, thence to New York City. The position which this large State has held in the American Union must be noticed. New Yorkers are very fond of remarking that "what New York wants she gets." A glance at the map will show that so long as this State wished to block the outlet into Lake Ontario from her side, she could do it by refusing to cut a canal round the Niagara Falls.

Everyone knows that this State, with its 26 to 36 votes for President in the Electoral College, has represented an interest in the American Union which it has not been safe for either party to trifle with; and New York interests are, of course, what is best for New York State. With Canada a Maine, and certain up to a very late date to have consisted in a great measure of territories, would the present canal and railway systems have existed, in view of the deference which politicians were bound to pay to New York interests, especially when it was to be only at the expense of backwoods-men and Frenchmen bound to the Church of Rome? (1)

(1) Edward D. North, in the *Forum*, May, 1892, says, among other reasons, that the canal was cut to Erie because the Ontario route "presented cheaper transportation to the sea via the St. Lawrence than by any other existing route."

With Oswego the port of transhipment, grain would more readily drift to the sea by the cheapest outlet.

Before the war, politics would have been different; the South would not only have been well pleased to purchase the vote of the State of New York, by sealing up the Northern route, but would have been happy in the consciousness that they were blocking the formation of other Yankee States. (1)

The West and Northwest were in possession of the Indians; the trend of politics would have been so different, that one can easily imagine the South long remaining masters of the situation. As it is, New York State has succeeded in cutting off the whole north country, including Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine, by the line Albany to Buffalo, and would have blocked Canada still more had it been American territory.

But the reign of New York State on old lines is very nearly over. "Westward the course of Empire takes its way," and Presidential candidates are very rapidly becoming less dependent on that State.

Senator Davis has lately drawn attention to the necessity of a ship canal around the Falls. It is true he advocates another, Oswego to the Hudson; but with a race of grain producers in these North-Western prairies on either side of the boundary line, it is not probable that any artificial barriers will long be permitted to check the flow of grain on its cheapest route to the sea; and be it either nature or laws, whether it be New York State or the manufactures of Ontario and Quebec, they will in a few years be forced to bend at the demand of the West. Is it not plain that all this Northern Country, until the Northern Country west of us was peopled, would have remained the abode of Frenchmen and backwoodsmen had the Thirteen Colonies obtained possession of it in 1774? With no one in the Northwest to push it, who would have been interested in the opening of it up, in opposition to the wishes and interests of the great Eastern State? Without the start given it by the Colonial

(1) The Chicago *Tribune*, the leading paper of the West, remarks editorially: "The Slave-holding South which ruled then at Washington was equally anxious to give the Canadians, while remaining English subjects, all the commercial benefits which would have followed annexation. The Southern leaders did not want the latter to happen, because it would have added four or five free States to the Union."

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emigrants, and the flow of English capital into the country since then, the native French would have been left in the peaceful possession of the St. Lawrence.

The general progress made in seventy years, in the older Provinces and States, subject to the same climatic conditions, is well illustrated by the average yearly increase in population. We find that

Quebec has gained per year.	15,735	for 66	years.
Maine.....	5,182	" 70	"
Nova Scotia.....	5,041	" 73	"
New Brunswick.....	3,687	" 67	"
New Hampshire.....	1,890	" 70	"
Vermont.....	1,380	" 70	"

The reports of the different census give :—

Quebec (Lower Canada) in	1825—450,000	In 1891—	1,488,535
Maine	1820 298,335	1890—	661,086
Nova Scotia.....	1818— 82,053	1891—	450,396
New Brunswick	1824— 74,176	1891—	321,263
New Hampshire.....	1820—244,161	1890—	376,530
Vermont.....	1820—235,764	1890—	332,432

All that this question of progress and vaunted superiority of institutions amounts to is, that the United States have had just one hundred years start of us in the possession of a great West.

The development of Canadian railroads has been of considerable assistance to Maine. The value of its statistics depends somewhat on whether its census was taken in the tourist months or not; but the progress of New Hampshire and Vermont, depending more upon the United States markets, has not been anything very particular to boast about.

In the ten years between 1880 and 1890 the population of the State of Vermont has increased by one hundred and thirty-six souls. It is somewhat difficult to argue out a benefit to us in joining our fortunes with that commonwealth at any rate. Are we absolutely certain in this Lower Province that it would do more for us than enlarge the boundaries of Vermont Park? We are to be congratulated that we did not get in, in 1775.

Why should our progress in the past 70 years have been greater than that of these neighbouring States, had the French joined in the American Revolution? The size of Quebec has little to do with the calculation; for away north of the St. Lawrence, the land, owing to climatic conditions, is beyond the sphere of colonization.

While our National Policy has had a great deal to answer for, the protection policy of the United States has had as much on their side, so far as these North Eastern States are concerned. A record of their exodus would show that their native born have been replaced with the French Canadians representing the exodus from Quebec.

So long as these display the characteristics of their ancestors, work as hard as and live cheaper than other people, and yet remain in touch with each other and their Church, they can in slow but steady waves drive everything before them in the labour line. The manufactures of the New England States are principally benefited by the change.

When living in the States one cannot help being struck with the general consensus of opinion that Canadians are slow. This is not very flattering; but we may allow a little for the natural sentiment of their people. If we were up to the times, we would join them, instead of poking along and sticking to England. Well, our friends may rest assured that while we fully appreciate their wonderful progress, yet, to whatever end Canadian sentiment may point, that end is not to Washington.

And in their own country can they show any better record after all? Our climate and our wilderness were factors in the case over which we had no control; the fair comparison for the old days is Maine and Michigan. It is well to remember, too, that the rough edge had been taken off their wilderness by two hundred years of occupation before the axe was heard in the woods of English Canada.

Since the creation of the new Canada, it seems as though the wand of the magician had passed over the country on their North. It is just twenty-five years since limited Statehood gave place to Dominion. In 1870 Manitoba was organized, and half the Continent, which up to that time had been held by the Hudson's Bay Company, passed into the present Dominion. British Columbia and

Vancouver Island followed in 1871, and Prince Edward Island in 1873. We then did exactly as the United States have done over and over again : when in want of money we entered the general money market of the world with our security in our hands ; and now, after twenty-five years of possession, we challenge a comparison. Let any sceptic travel over the Dominion from Winnipeg to Vancouver, and carry in his mind that, far away North of his comfortable car, the settler is seeking out the best agricultural land, farm by farm, where only fifteen years ago his scalp would have been unsafe ; onward to the town of Vancouver, primeval forest in 1886. Such a forest, too, as only those who have been on the Pacific Coast know anything about. If he cannot, in any corresponding portion of his own country south of the line, produce anything to surpass it for ten years work, (1) then for ever let him hold his peace regarding the slowness of Canadians.

The trouble with Canadians is, that they are a great deal too modest.

The assertion that England built our Pacific road for us for military purposes is so ridiculous, that an apology is necessary for taking time to refute it. Nevertheless, as it is constantly asserted by such authorities as Senator Cullum, we cannot be surprised at some of the people south of us believing it. The class of men who look upon us as slow old pokes are the class who believe in the military road. It is evident that someone has accomplished something, which, on this Continent at any rate, has been considered as the prerogative of go-ahead Americans. It could not have been the "fringe to the States," and accordingly it must have been England.

That the Canadian Pacific Railroad, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, was built on Canadian credit alone, is well known to all who have taken the trouble of informing themselves. That in the early days of our Federation the Government of the United Kingdom did guarantee the bonds of a road connecting the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick with the city of Quebec is a fact, but this road is no part of the Canadian Pacific Railroad

(1) The Canada Pacific Railroad was completed in 1885.

system. That guarantee was given to enable us to borrow the money in London at a cheaper rate than we could have obtained at that time. England on her part may have had some idea of the military advantages of such a road; but the concession was granted in consideration of the fact that Canada had been at great expense during the American Civil War in maintaining her neutrality, and at danger and expense afterwards, from the raids of armed bands of citizens, so called, whom United States law seemed utterly powerless to reach. These losses were brought upon us for no other reason than because we chose to fly the flag of England; and this guarantee was the last which Canada either asked or received from the British nation.

The discussion anent "Canada's Government road" was all calculated to lead up to President Harrison's message to Congress. If their assertion be true, that they are having cheap transportation at our expense, their people must have something to thank us for, to say the very least.

The Treasury report that the debt of the United States increased by three millions during the past month of January. Two millions in cash had to be paid out to meet the "semi-annual interest on the Union Pacific Railroad bonds."

Whether Canada made a good or bad bargain with her Pacific Railway Company is a question for Canadians to decide, and affects them only.

THE CHURCH OF ROME.

People who so glibly talk of Canada joining the States fail to realize the position which the Church of Rome holds on the Continent.

That this Church will do anything which will jeopardize its position in Canada is not to be expected. Within this Dominion the Province of Quebec is completely under its thumb; the Census gave its population as 1,196,346 French and 292,189 English speaking. If this Church meets the wants of such an overwhelming majority of the people, it is not for the English minority, demanding the freedom of their own opinions, to say: "Thou shalt not have it." All that we can demand is that it will mind its own business.

Its definition, however, of what its own business is differs somewhat from our English Canadian definition.

Apparently the idea of their priesthood is, that they should spread their language and their institutions over the rest of this Dominion; ours is that the decision must be left to the local legislatures as representing the will of the people subject to the constitution.

For some inscrutable reason, the French Canadian has proved to be the most prolific race on this Continent. With only 100,000 to start with in 1762, they now amount to 1,415,000 in Canada, and I believe it is estimated that there are 500,000 of them in the United States. His natural instinct is to close up about his Church, but Manitoba must be admitted to have attracted her share of their people lately. These men are a distinct race, and as yet have not assimilated to the other people of this Continent. They, too, have their aspirations. If their ambition be to Romanize the Maritime Provinces and the New England States, using Quebec as a base of operations, their prolific production will permit of their accomplishing it, and presenting the twenty-first century with a very interesting problem.

The French Canadian is a good settler, in every sense of the word; he is bound to overflow somewhere, and it will be in the direction in which there is the least resistance to his Church.

Exactly parallel to our ideas of to-day were the ideas of the two sections of the United States with regard to slavery up to 1861.

It is expected, however, that we shall be able to settle this question amongst ourselves, without appealing to the force to which the United States were driven in that year.

Our political machinery being the more perfect will carry us through all such questions as may arise.

At any rate, the Church of Rome stands a fact, and its workers are guided by a set of men educated to politics and dealing with the various phases of the Church throughout Christendom. As a compact body of politicians they are as clever as in the world exist. Had their leaders in Rome been of the opinion that annexation would have been conducive to their benefit, and have contributed to the power of their Church, the formation of this Dominion, depending upon the vote of the people, would never have been permitted. As it was, through opening up a new country in which, backed by their solid province of Quebec, they were sure of having a heavy vote, presented a condition of affairs eminently calculated for their expansion. It is a great deal easier for them to make their power felt, and extend their sway in the present Dominion than as a State of the American Union. With this power in their hands, what inducement is there for them to give it up? In the present temper of the United States, could a vote be passed through Congress admitting a solid Roman Catholic State, with its church establishment, language and treaty rights, to equal rights in the American Union?

The New York *Times* of February 3rd says:—"The proposition to admit as a State of the Union a population of 17th Century French Canadians, about as large as the population of Wisconsin, is one that should make thoughtful Americans pause."

It is clear that, to join the States, they would either have to give up their traditions, or consent to be ruled as a territory.

The Church of Rome has a far better game to play than that.

This Church, both in Canada and in the United States, is guided by the same men over the sea; and their great object is power. They believe that with power they can lead men in the true path; therefore, what they do, they do, because they believe that it contributes to the power of their Church; and what they refrain from doing is because they do not think that it will help the ends which they have in view.

It is too early yet to guess what effect the large emigration from the Roman Catholic countries of Europe will have upon the United States; but the one familiar object which the emigrant to the new world meets on landing in America is the Church of his fathers. This Church is on an entirely different basis from any in the land The decree of Rome is the law for its priesthood; these smooth-faced, long-robed gentlemen and hooded ladies are to be found everywhere steadily working, while quietly laying the foundations of future power.

No better field could be found for them than this Continent; and it is evident to us, who live amongst them, that if they ever obtain a position of sufficient strength in the United States, they will strike the Constitution through the will of the people.

At any rate, as sentiment runs in the present day, they are far too wary to bring up the burning question of the position of their Church, which the annexation of Canada would inevitably call to the front; but the assertion may be made, that if the stars of Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Ontario ever grace the star-spangled banner of the United States, it will only be typical and emblematical of the fact, that upon this broad Continent of America the Church of Rome holds undisputed sway, and you will not see them there until that day.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES—THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY IN CANADA—THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY IN ENGLAND.

It is the belief of free traders that all tariff is a tax; that in countries, such as Canada and the United States, in the face of the prejudice against the principle of direct taxation, a tariff is the easiest, the cheapest, the most equitable and popular method of collecting the necessary revenue, but that this tax for revenue should be framed to the end of producing the greatest amount of income with the smallest percentage of taxation, and that luxuries should be made to pay heavily for revenue.

That as all trade is exchange, no unnecessary barriers should be placed in the way of people exchanging the product of their labour as freely as possible; in other words, that a man should be permitted to buy where he can buy the cheapest, and to sell where he can sell the dearest.

That unnecessary freight charges are as much barriers as unnecessary duties.

That in such countries as Canada, with a widely scattered population, a tariff for revenue is not an unnecessary barrier.

The very reverse of this is the opinion of the protectionist. He believes that home industries should be encouraged, with the idea of giving employment to labour in the production of everything possible within his own country, of checking the purchase abroad of anything which can be produced at home, and of creating a home market for the produce of the country.

Under leaders pledged to uphold one of these views, every man in our country and in the United States ranges himself.

The Republicans in the States, being the party of the manufacturers, can only maintain themselves by appealing to American prejudice and American sentiment. Repudiating any alliance with the manufacturers on this side of the line, forming the Conservative party, they persist in placing those here in alliance with the Conservative party in England, and seeing in them only hostility to American institutions.

That the object of the Conservatives in Canada is exactly the same as that of the Republicans in the United States they will not admit.

So long as the Republican party lives, and its end, from either selfish or patriotic motives, is the so-called protection of American industry, England, being the most formidable manufacturing power in the world, must expect to see her flag trailed in the dust, and those who fly it on this Continent must expect to be under the ban. While on this side of the line, the promoters of infant industries, with the full right of taxing English goods conceded to them, only look with dread upon the huge combinations of capital in the United States, and accordingly are just as outspoken in appealing to Canadian prejudices, setting themselves up as the most patriotic of Canadians and supporters of British institutions.

When Sir John A. Macdonald with his party stumped Canada in his last election in support of protection, he was not one whit less pronounced than the most rabid protectionist on the United States side of the line. He succeeded in fastening the stigma of annexation upon the whole Liberal party, and, in the face of what, in my humble opinion, is a wide-spread desire for a reduction of the tariff, succeeded in carrying the election.

Canadians must be willing to accept their fair share of the unpleasant things said on their side. I heartily commend the cartoon in *Puck* of September 7th, representing the girl Canada on one side and Uncle Sam on the other; between them are two fighting dogs, each labelled "Protection," and the scroll, "We would be very good friends were it not for these two animals."

Until our Liberal leaders free themselves from "differential duty and commercial union" planks, they need not expect the confidence of the Canadian people.

In the late bye-Elections the Liberals have spoken out in no uncertain terms; they have put Conservatives in power all over Canada, in the place of men who proposed giving away the control of their own affairs. That the Conservatives gained all these late elections themselves is nonsense; in very many cases Liberals put them in power because they proposed running their own Country their own way.

The Conservative and Republican parties in their respective Countries on this side of the water bear the same relation to the people, so far as trade questions go, that the Conservative party in the United Kingdom did to their people fifty years back. They all opposed freedom of trade in the interests of a class—the landlords in the old world, the manufacturers in the new. The speeches of the men of that day, for and against protection in England, apply the well worn arguments on this continent of the present time.

In later days the English Conservatives having accepted the free trade doctrine, the parallel does not hold good; but in the States the leaders yet place the English and Canadian Conservatives together, in hostility to the United States.

With a strong Democratic party in power, and free trade relations with the world, the necessity for a great deal of this declamation will pass away, and an era of better feeling develop; while in Canada, if the Conservatives can be brought to accept the free trade doctrine, parties may then struggle over the best means of carrying it into effect.

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILROAD.

The Chicago *Tribune*, in writing its obituary notice of President Harrison's political career, said: "Like all his public utterances, whether to Congress or the people, President Harrison's message is practical and business-like in its contents, earnest, dignified and impartial in its tone."

The business point is the only one which will be touched upon here. In his message, he says: "It is hardly too much to say, that the Canada Pacific and other Railway lines which parallel our Northern boundary are sustained by commerce, having either its origin or terminus, or both, in the United States."

Mr. J. W. Nimmo. jr., an experienced servant, has furnished him with the figures upon which he bases this assertion—in fact, he favours us with them himself. For the year ending 30th June, 1892, they tabulate as follows for the C.P.R:—

Into the United States from China and Japan.....	23,239,689
From " " " to " "	24,068,346
United States Eastern to U. S. Western points	13,912,073
" " Western " " Eastern "	13,293,315
	74,513,423 pounds.

This is a very imposing array of figures, but the result of a little arithmetic is somewhat surprising. Allowing an average of 40,000 lbs. to a car load, it represents 1863 cars. For crossing the plains or any fairly flat country, allow 40 cars to the train, this gives a result of 46 trains; in other words, less than two full train loads each way per month, for twelve months, represent, according to President Harrison's figures, the dependence of the Canadian Pacific Railway on the United States. From a business point of view, will these figures permit of the assertion that the Railroad in question is "sustained by commerce, having either its origin or terminus, or both, in the United States?"

The reports of the Company give the gross earnings of the whole Canadian Pacific system for 1891 as $20,241,095.48, of which $1,162,475.55 were from interstate traffic, or 5.07 per cent.

What President Harrison did not tell us was, that the books of the Transcontinental R. R. Association representing all the Railroads show that in 1891, while the Canadian lines diverted from the United States lines $\frac{81}{100}$ of 1 per cent. of United States Westbound traffic, 13 $\frac{72}{100}$ per cent. of Canadian Westbound traffic was diverted to United States lines, and while $\frac{23}{100}$ of 1 per cent. of United States Eastbound traffic was diverted to Canadian lines, 12 $\frac{10}{100}$ per cent. of Canadian traffic Eastbound was diverted to United States lines. (1)

The local mileage freights on the Canadian Pacific are lower than those in Minnesota; Brandon rates of freight fix the rule for wheat in Manitoba. Brandon is 559 miles from Fort William (Port Arthur), and the freight is 22 cents per 100 lbs.

Crookston, in the centre of the Red River Valley in Minnesota, is 290 miles by rail, from either Duluth or Minneapolis, and freight is 16 cents per 100 lbs.

At the end of December "No. 1 Hard" sold at the Crookston elevator for 57 cents, and "No. 1 Northern" for 55 cents, while at Brandon the prices were 52 and 50 cents for like grades.

In this telegraphic age, differences in prices of equally graded grain are, in most instances, differences of rates in grain freights.

(1) A. C. Raymond's figures.

NOTES FROM A CAR WINDOW.

THE PACIFIC COAST.

The maps of the United States do not show the great American desert as of yore. The desert, as a fact, only exists so far as agriculture is concerned. Cattle may graze in very many parts of that immense country, lying between the Rocky and Sierra Nevada ranges, and the melting of the snow may supply water for a limited amount of agriculture. In travelling over the State of Washington East of the Cascade range, a more dismal prospect could hardly be found. The Columbia River, where the Northern Pacific Railroad crosses it, flows through an unmitigated desert; yet it would not be safe to assert that wheat will not do as well there as it does in other parts of the State,—the rains and mild winters work wonders; but up to date, no one has been in a hurry to try the experiment. For two hundred miles in a straight line, there does not appear to be five living souls in the country. It is desolation itself.

Southward, Nevada may be given up as a bad job, where cattle cannot grub.

Regarding irrigation, any desert may be converted into a garden if enough of water can be procured, but in this instance there is not one thousandth part available.

The Corn belt, of which Illinois with its Chicago is the centre, is probably the best part of the United States east of the Pacific Coast Ranges. The farmer in that section may plant winter wheat, and, in the event of a failure, it is possible for him to plow up for corn before it is too late. The situation of Chicago is eminently fitted for the growth of a great city. As it stands now, the centre of a great Railway system, there is probably no other city which holds such an extent of fertile country tributary to it. As America fills up, there is very little doubt that Chicago will be the largest city in the world. Its markets for lumber, hogs, cattle, corn, wheat, and a great variety of manufactures give law to-day to more square miles of land than any other city in America. If America is to grow, it is difficult to see what there is to stop Chicago.

Northward in the States and in British America spring wheat is the main crop; the winters are too severe for the successful growing of winter wheat, and the summer nights too cold for the maturing of corn, but it is now well understood that all other cereals natural to a Northern country crop out better in quality, and greater in quantity per acre, the nearer they approach their Northern limit of production. At the present time, most men own more land than they can farm with success, and the result is that, if the crop is poor, too much money has been spent in working over the great breadth of land for its light return per acre; if it is a heavy crop, the labour is not in the country to save it in good condition. It is hurriedly shocked instead of stacked. The fall rains come on; there being no system of drainage the flat lands are held wet, and neither teaming nor ploughing can be done. The effort to secure this heavy crop has thrown the fall ploughing back, resulting in more spring work and late seeding; in fact, on the large scale on which they are attempting it at present, prairie farming is a somewhat risky business for a poor man.

Spring wheat growing will play out in time there, as it has done elsewhere in America. This hard wheat, at present so popular, will give way; it will only grow on new lands. Once you fertilize this soil you change the character of the wheat; it gradually becomes softer and whiter, and will not make as strong a flour. (1) There is no doubt that other wheats suitable for the country will take its place, but smaller farms, better farming, and more attention paid to the rotation of crops, the raising of hogs and cattle, will be a decided advantage to the country.

This is all that can be said against it, but in case a sanguine Canadian may be charged with drawing too highly coloured a picture. Let us view it through the eyes of Mr. J. W. Taylor, United States Consul at Winnipeg, through all administrations since the early days of our federation.

In reporting to his Government last year, he said:—"But the day is near at hand when American farmers must meet such competition as they never met before, and such as few of them have ever dreamed

(1) I cannot quote any particular authority for this statement, and would like more light thrown on the subject.

of. The parallelogram included between the longitudes 100 and 170 West of Greenwich, and latitudes 50 to 70 degrees, is identical in climate and as rich in resources as an equal area in Europe included between the same meridians of latitude, and extending 68 degrees East and 10 degrees West of Greenwich. The European parallelogram includes England, Ireland, Scotland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Belgium, Holland, and most of Germany and Russia in Europe. Over all the territory included in the North American parallelogram, the opening of spring occurs at the same time, almost to a day. It is known by the test of experience that wheat can be grown as far North as latitude 69, and by far the finest wheat which I have ever seen came from Fort Vermillion on Peace River, in latitude 59, longitude 116. Wheat, barley, oats, pease, all the grains and vegetables are successfully raised at the Mission Stations throughout this region, and the farmers of Manitoba have had greater average crops per acre for many years past than the American farmers in Minnesota and Dakota.

The causes for this remarkable extension Northwest of cereal production are: first, the continually decreasing altitude, the influence of the warm wind of the Pacific blowing through the low mountain passes of the North, and the fact that the long summer days of higher latitudes give a vast deal more sunshine during the growing season than is the case further South, while the cold winters prevent the development of insect pests, which are so injurious in milder climates. The causes are certainly sufficient to explain the fact, so well demonstrated by experience, that all grains are produced in the highest quality and the greatest quantity per acre near the Northern limit at which they will grow.

Within five years from the present time, and at the present rate of progress, there will be a clear channel for vessels drawing 14 feet of water through Canadian territory, all the way from Lake Superior to the sea. Six feet of water in the Erie canal and two transfers of freight can no more compete with fourteen feet of water through Canadian canals, and no transfer, than a wheelbarrow can compete with an Express train. The canal boat carrying 200 tons, drawn by mules at the rate of 4 miles an hour, can by no possibility compete with steamships carrying 2000 tons propelled by steam at the

rate of 14 miles an hour; and while the United States farmer has held his own fairly well against the semi-civilized wheat growers of India, I do not see how he can hope to win in competition with men of the same race, men just as intelligent, with a climate no more rigourous, with a soil at least as fertile, and with transportation facilities immeasurably superior. The great plains of the Canadian Northwest are unsettled now, but when once the conditions of soil and climate which there exist are supplemented by facilities for transportation not surpassed, if equalled, by those of any other region, I believe the Canadian Northwest will settle up with a race of hardy, intelligent and prosperous people, and will become the granary of the world. "*He who can most cheaply reach the markets of the world can control the markets of the world.*"

If Canadians do not appreciate the country to which in fact, as well as in theory, they have fallen heir under the Imperial flag, Americans do. Wake up, ye of little faith in the destiny of Canada, and see yourselves as others see you! Our country can seize a position upon the Continent which "wad frae monie a blunder free us, an' foolish notion." Our Northern position saves us from many of the evils of which our neighbours to the South complain, while the depression in the mountain ranges makes all the difference between an agricultural land and a desert. If we can by any means lay down the necessaries of life in these plains, and carry the products of these plains to their destination, more cheaply than the Americans, to which land will the farmer turn when once he understands the conditions existing?

Of the Pacific Coast. The practical settlement of California commenced with the discovery of gold in 1848. Surprise has frequently been expressed that a country with the natural advantages of this State should not have secured more of the emigrant wave with which the United States has been favoured. Mr. H. H. Bancroft, while hopeful for the future, admits that California, the finest State in the Union, has not kept pace with her sister rivals in the East. Amongst causes assigned is lack of trade, and want of a proper market.

There is no part of this Continent of America to surpass the Pacific Coast. An enthusiastic citizen has described California as the

Italy, Oregon as the France, and Washington State and British Columbia as the England of this Continent. This description applies, however, only to the strip of country West of the Sierra Nevada, and along the coast Northward towards Alaska.

Leaving all sentiment or prejudice of one kind or another out of the question, there is some cause for what stands an established fact to-day; that little bit of an Island of Britain, lying upon the Western shore of Europe, has become the seat of a great Empire. It is either their climate, their country, their laws, or all three combined, which is responsible for this creation. Although Rome held England for five hundred years, the modern Englishman is not only the outgrowth or the result of Roman civilization; that was all wiped out by the plundering Picts, Scots, Northmen, Saxons and Danes. The *bona fide* Englishman was born at Senlac Hill, and what he has done he has done himself, and borrows naught from abroad.

All the conditions of greatness, except their Island security, which are to be found in that country, are lying undeveloped to-day between some point in Washington State and a point in British Columbia, taking in, say, one hundred to two hundred and fifty miles inland, exclusive of the Island of Vancouver. They have fish (and Alaska sea has valuable "banks," exclusive of the seal business), timber, coal and iron on the coast; in the Mountains of British Columbia lie silver, copper in enormous quantities, and lead, to say nothing of other minerals, while its climate is tempered by the Japan current, in exactly the same manner that the Gulf Stream tempers England. As an illustration of the climate, market gardens can be shown from which fresh vegetables are taken daily, for twelve months in the year. For the soil, the vegetation speaks for itself, and taking into consideration its mineral resources, it is not too much to say that, when one-tenth of the capital and energy which have been spent on the Atlantic Coast shall have been put in on the Pacific, it will be found that one acre of that land will support more men than the like quantity in any other part of the New World.

The country is only now opening up, and except in the Coast towns, and in older California, the life is all that can be expressed in that of a pioneer.

But the development of this Coast, especially of California, is

slower than the fairness of the country would seem to warrant. Not many citizens of the United States will be ready to admit that their laws restrict the growth of that part of their country ; but a case may be stated to this effect. The wheat of California, Oregon and Washington State differs entirely from that of the Central, Eastern and Northern ; it is a beautiful article, doubtless, but so long as Minnesota, Dakota, Manitoba and the Northwest produce sufficient spring wheat, and the Central and Southern States supply enough of fall wheat for home consumption, not one bushel of Coast wheat will be sold for consumption east of the Rocky Mountains. The Northern Pacific Railroad has found that out. Two years ago they offered Palouse wheat in every market from St. Paul to New York, without sales of anything more than samples. It would suit them well to get a load back from the West Coast ; but the fact is, that, while their wheat is good, it will not make a flour strong enough to compete with the strong baker's flour, the product of the spring wheat of the North, nor will it grind white enough to compete with the fall wheats of, say, Ohio. Being a plump, heavy and soft berry, the millers found that it was not suitable for mixing in their Northern mills, and in every case it lowered the colour in the winter wheat mills. The wheat of the Pacific Coast, so far as the Eastern States are concerned, is out in the cold.

Their only outside market is Europe—England and France in particular. One cargo of it would fill up the Scotch market for a year —the Highlander wishes something strong for his money—but with England and France it is different ; they must in them meet the competition of all the world. It follows that while forced to sell in Europe, and no other place, unless China opens up, they are at the same time prohibited by the tariff of the United States from buying in the same market. The reciprocity arguments, so popular at present, might come into play here. Every article of necessity they are compelled to buy in the protected Eastern markets, and pay protection prices, with the long haul over the railroads into the bargain.

It certainly appears that the laws of the United States, to the extent to which they are restrictive, deprive the farmer of the Pacific Coast of the benefit of exchange with his customers in Europe.

If it be asked, why do not they start factories of their own? well, the distances are great between points of local consumption, local rail freights are high, and the local market at any one point (except perhaps at San Francisco and Portland) is not large enough to sustain a factory of any magnitude, turning out but one line of goods; and, above all, fuel is dear. Factories go slow, is the usual answer to the enquiry; but from my limited point of view, the real reason for the stagnation on the Pacific Coast is the stagnation of foreign trade.

Between the Railroad monopolies on one hand and the protected Eastern manufacturers on the other, the wheat producer, having no choice where his purchases shall be made or his produce sold, has a hard time of it; that he makes a living at all says a great deal for the country.

The case is not complete even yet; the farmer being forced to buy in the Eastern markets is not in a position to make favourable freight contracts with the Ocean carrier; the ship will not go to San Francisco unless it will pay. A vessel may load at Liverpool for China, and on arriving there, if a cargo is procurable to Frisco, and this freight and the Frisco freight to Liverpool pay better than a return trip straight to England, to Frisco then she will go, but not otherwise. It is futile to argue that this China trade will carry the Pacific Coast wheat,—protection restricts that also; and in these days of Ocean cables there is not the same chance of a vessel going to a port to which it will not pay for the outward cargo thence. Ships will without doubt sometimes be caught in the Pacific, and a glut in this port or that take place; without a steady trade, however, considerable fluctuations may be expected, resulting in irregular prices for grain. So far as Ocean carriage is concerned, if people make laws which restrict their own purchasing power in the only market in which they can sell their product, they must be prepared to give away more of the result of their labour, in the shape of higher rates of freight, than would otherwise be necessary.

With competition in Liverpool and Havre, and ships there getting full cargoes for Frisco, Portland, Tacoma and Seattle, more vessels would be on the route, a steady trade maintained, and outward freights from these latter ports relieved from some share of their

burden, thereby gaining a corresponding advantage for the grain. In early days, wheat sold for fifty cents a bushel in Chicago, when foreign markets were much higher than they are to-day, the cost of transportation absorbing the difference; but will anyone argue that the Northwestern States would have been as prosperous (even allowing everything for protection which is demanded) had the same heavy charges been maintained going East, and the people been obliged to buy their clothes and hardware in California?

In the winter of 1890-1891 there was great complaint throughout Washington State about the blockade of wheat; no cars, grain was bagged and piled like cordwood at every way station; no cars, but the run to Tacoma or Seattle was short, the enterprise of these citizens had built elevators, docks, etc. Puget Sound offered all the facilities for a shipping trade; the farmers were in want of money, and anxious to sell; a market lay open for them in England, with men ready to pay cash for their wheat put on board ships in the Sound. The only links wanting to complete this chain were the trade and the ships at the right places; of cars there were plenty, and owned by the Northern Pacific too, but they were not in the right place either, because there was not the trade. With the wheat crop of Washington State harvested and ready for market, the spectacle was afforded of one ship loading at Seattle. It is perhaps necessary to remember that this is the Nineteenth Century.

A hurried trip over the ground last summer showed affairs to be in the same unsatisfactory state; the larger the factory the slower it seemed to "go;" the elevator at Seattle was in the hands of a receiver, and generally there were flat times over the whole coast. It really seems as though other interests than those of the inhabitants dominate in that part of the country; but an average of twenty-three bushels of wheat to the acre carries it, in spite of monopolistic legislation. Reciprocity has been before people, and if the sum total of legislation be the creation of markets for manufactures, the people of the Pacific Coast are to be congratulated on the possession of a happy and accommodating disposition; but as the East respectfully refuse to eat their wheat, if the grower of sugar be entitled to a bounty, then to a much greater extent is the farmer of California, Oregon and Washington State.

TRANSPORTATION THE PROBLEM FOR CANADA.

It is impossible to consider the transportation problem without at the same time opening up the question of free trade and protection. The one is indissolubly bound up with the other. This in its turn carries with it an attack, not only upon the present National Policy of Canada, but also on Reciprocity with any protectionist country, and especially with the United States, so long as that country maintains a higher seaboard tariff than one which we consider suitable to the particular wants of our own Northern country. A very large and deep question is this, truly; and one which is only taken up here because of its effect on the transportation problem.

So long as the Northwestern States and the Hudson's Bay Company lands were in the possession of the Indians, the questions involving the Canada of the St. Lawrence were of local interest only; but Continental transportation is now a live issue, and larger and more far-reaching problems are before the people holding the outlet for that immense country tributary to the Northern Lakes.

Freedom of trade being, as a matter of fact, the transportation problem, is my apology for entering into the well-worn and threadbare tariff discussion of the day.

There must surely be some explanation for the fact, that, under free trade, England has advanced by leaps and bounds in everything which makes a nation great; while under protection, the United States have developed their resources at a rate beyond anything of which the most sanguine could have dreamed. How comes this apparent anomaly? In England no one questions the free trade doctrine, although some do question its advisability, in the face of the bounty and protectionist systems carried to such extreme lengths in other countries. In the United States, had protection been such a millstone as its opponents make out, that country could not have stood where she does to-day.

Free trader as I am, and believing it to be the only sound basis on which to work, I am at the same time forced to admit that the

protectionist is perfectly justified in pointing to his country with triumph, and demanding, under free trade could we have done any better? I am not sure that my opinion will be accepted regarding the state of affairs in the United States, but it is the only argument upon which I can admit of protection being a benefit, and it is based on free land.

The United States stood with an enormous amount of arable land, unoccupied and uncultivated, and, in effect, said to the would-be emigrant:—"To buy 160 acres of land in Europe is entirely beyond your means. Come to this country, we will give you 160 acres for nothing, or at least for no cash payment down, but you must consent to give preference to the goods manufactured in this country over those of foreign countries. We will admit that you will have to pay a little more for them, but you are getting a clear title to something which you cannot get in Europe. It is our policy to open up our mines and build railroads, and we can only do this by offering inducements to men leaving their homes to come here, because of the greater inducements which we offer over those of other countries. While not saying anything about the home market thus created for your produce, you must remember that every man who lands on this shore cannot become a farmer, and, while a mechanic working for his daily wage, at the end of his life has only what he may have saved out of his daily earnings, you, on the other hand, while working for your daily wage, have at the end of your life a property, the title to which you received gratis from the nation, and which has now a market value. As between you and the mechanic, at the end of your days, you are a capitalist, a landed proprietor." This argument would hold good so long as there was any free land, or for one generation only, but, like a patent, it must have its limit. The farmer is quite justified in answering to-day:—"Granted; and I agreed to support your industries because they were infant industries, but when are they to cease being infants? Will they never stand alone? There is no free land to be had now, farms must be paid for, and so far as I am concerned, for this farm which was given me I feel that I have paid its value. The argument about the working man is all right, but it has either proved such a success, or the principle has been carried to such an extreme, that it is doing

more than provide for the workingman. Men with millions are multiplying at a rapid rate, and these millions are out of our pockets, for we farmers are the great consumers of home manufactures."

Unless protection can be justified on this line of argument, I fail in seeing any justification for it. Why one set of men should work harder, so that another set may gain a living out of their toil, is an anomaly difficult to understand in a free country.

The evolution of this word "tariff" is of some interest. Originating in the dark ages with those pirate robbers of the Moorish town Tarifa, who, to the terror of all legitimate traders, by virtue of their power concentrated at a given point, collected tribute upon all vessels passing in and out of the Mediterranean, it has come round in this enlightened age of ours, to represent loyalty and the most intense and vehement patriotism.

So little am I satisfied with the whole protection argument that I have no faith in its application to Canada; I feel that giving the cultivators of the soil the privilege of buying their wares in the cheapest market, wherever that may be, is for our Northern country the sounder policy. That tremendous stretch of country lying between Winnipeg and the Rockies is nothing if it is not agricultural; and to succeed, agriculturists must be allowed the opportunity of making their money go as far as possible.

Of all the Canadians who have made permanent homes in the United States, Mr. Wiman has probably taken more interest in Canadian-American affairs than any other of those whose fortune or necessity has drawn them over the border. On the trade question, he insists that giving the United States differential treatment against the world is the better policy for Canada, and that it is the only basis upon which the United States will open their markets to us. He says: "While it will be most desirable on the part of the United States to admit freely raw materials and food products, it will be equally desirable to open up new markets in exchange for those—not new markets for natural products, but markets for manufactures into which these natural products find their way. Certainly it will not fulfill the idea of the Democrats of Freedom of Trade if the freedom is on one side only. Unless goods or merchandise are

exchanged for what Canada has to sell, there can be no freedom of trade with Canada. If money alone is to be the medium of exchange, then there is little prospect of an increased trade between the two countries as the outcome of the new policy, hereafter and for a long time to prevail in the United States."

This is nothing more nor less than our old friend in a new form; the price of free trade with the States is the acceptance of the American tariff. And it is desirable that in exchange for our "raw material and food products" we should accept of their "manufactures" under a Continental protection agreement; in other words, our farmers are to give yet a little more of the result of their labour, in exchange for the manufactures of the United States and Canada. But this is only for the amount of "raw material and food products" which they may require, how about the enormous quantity which they do not want? At which port is it to find its way to the sea?

The larger and the greater the variety of market, the larger and cheaper the trade. New York is already in possession of the great lines of trade, and if we place more obstructions to imports at our own port of entry, through unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, the larger freight market is to have the advantage over the smaller.

The full significance of a large ocean freight market versus a small one can only be realized by those in the grain trade.

Mr. Wiman's argument would be perfect were it based upon universal free trade; the cheapest would then get the business, and no favour asked; but as it stands, choking off our port only means placing the whole West tributary to New York.

"Meantime, Canada is a market for the manufactures of the United States" at protection prices, and our import trade is burst. Mr. Wiman's assertion cuts both ways: "If money alone is to be the medium of exchange, then there is little prospect of an increased trade between the two Countries," applies as much to England as it does to the United States. We stand ready to trade with either or both; but if we must choose, then let it be the one that will give us the greatest amount of goods in exchange for our product.

We can do a great deal better business exchanging freely with the workshop of the world, for the reason that this workshop turns out

its goods on a supply and demand basis alone. Would any of us in private life go into business or join a firm which proposed to give more of its own labour for a less amount of the labour of other people? Yet that is precisely what we do as a nation when we propose to exchange with a protectionist country instead of a free trade one. The same argument applies to a tariff of protection against ourselves; we are members of a firm, and some of the partners receive a bonus which the other partners contribute. After fourteen years of such policy, we have succeeded in reaching a point of national prosperity, which permits of our maintaining a certain proportion of 154,000 men, women, boys and girls (1) in employment at our own expense; we have had to work hard to do this; we have had to close up a farm or two, in the form of selling out at a reduced price, or through the simplification of the usual mortgage, because the partners working those farms could not continue the contribution to the other partners in the National business; and not having a market for more manufactured goods, we have not built more manufactories, but have sent the extra hands out of the country to provide for themselves. Such is the sum total of our fourteen years' business.

A point of considerable importance in respect to Reciprocity with the United States is that their prices are established by a tariff law. It has always been a Democratic campaign argument that the manufacturers had two sets of prices,—one to their own citizens, as high as their tariff law would permit, and one to foreigners, based on cost. Lists of these trade prices have frequently been published in American papers at election times, the object of the manufacturers being to keep an outlet for their over-production and make their profit out of their own citizens. Once their surplus was sold in a foreign market, their own duty prevented it coming back again, in competition with their later work.

An illustration of this may be seen in the Shepard Hardware Company, of Buffalo, N.Y.—an establishment of which the buildings cover acres of ground, and, as it happens, conveniently situated for Canadian trade. As an example, take an article such as an ice-cream freezer. (2) No. 4 at regular trade retails for $5.00 in the States,

(1) Including the ratio of increase amongst the 12,000 blacksmiths.

(2) These freezers being numbered according to sizes, and listed, no mistake can be made in the figures.

depending somewhat on the profit which the retailer thinks he can make (the listed price is $5.50 to Americans, subject to the trade discounts), yet, Messrs. Henry Morgan & Co., of Montreal, can afford to sell this very article, after paying freight and a Canadian duty of 25 per cent., at a regular price of $3.15, and at their annual cheap sale for $2.40 cash. The same result would come about from the disposal of a bankrupt stock. The Steinway piano can be bought here at the same price that it is sold for in the States. Who pays the duty? Into whose pocket would it go under reciprocity? Many other articles might be named. I regret, however, to say, the rule does not appear to hold good with regard to ladies' boots and shoes, American make, which are dearer here than in the States. Partisanship may assert that these published lists referred to are only Democratic Campaign thunder; but from a business stand-point in a country suffering from over-production, it would seem that a few safety valves in the shape of greater discounts to foreign trade to push business, and to clear the works in dull times, would be of great assistance to the business management.

These foreign discounts of the American manufacturers would not apply to us under unrestricted reciprocity.

In a free trade country such as England, it is not possible to maintain prices by combination, for then Germany and the rest of the world step in and cut under.

If we give any protectionist nation preferential treatment in our market, by placing a higher duty on any article, against the rest of the world, we may depend that the price we shall have to pay for that article is the world's price plus the import duty. The difference goes into the pocket of the protected manufacturer, who gets preferential treatment, instead of into our Federal treasury.

In pre-McKinley Tariff days, sugar from the Sandwich Islands was admitted by treaty free of duty into the United States; yet the consumers on the Pacific Coast did not obtain their sugar one fraction less than at the price of the two cent per pound duty paid article of the Atlantic Coast. An enlightened people donated to Mr. Claus Spreckles the result of a certain proportion of their daily labour, in the extra price which they paid him for their refined sugar. Should there be any doubt about this, compare the market price of sugar in

San Francisco with the market price in New York previous to the McKinley law, and answer the question: Into whose pocket did the extra two cents a pound go, and out of whose pocket did it come?

As the American refined and manufactured sugar of the Sandwich Islands was to the people of the Pacific Coast, so would the American manufactured goods be to us under preferential treatment.

The argument will not stand good that under reciprocity our port of entry would have as good a chance for United States imports as any other. Their goods do not come this way now, and even under reciprocity the bonding of such imports could not work more easily than it does at present. Trade begets trade; and until we create a large importing business of our own, we need not expect importations on any very large scale for other people.

It is absurd to attempt any prediction as to what the coming United States congress will do, further than that a reduction of the tariff will take place. "The tariffs for revenue men" have obtained such an overwhelming victory, that should they come down to the tariff of 1846—which was one of 30 per cent.—a general reciprocity agreement might possibly be carried into effect, provided we wished to maintain our seaboard tariff at that figure; provided, too, that the Democrats were willing to enter into any such treaties.

Free traders are of the opinion that a considerably lower tariff than one of 30 per cent., especially on iron and woolens, would best serve the interests of our country, but it is not possible to have a 17½ per cent. seaboard tariff on, say, woolens and free trade in woolens with the United States, while they have one of 30 per cent., or higher, along their seaboard on the same class of goods; it won't figure. As for the products of iron and tin, the United States Custom House officers would have to be experts in their business to discover the origin of every article, and act accordingly.

For our Northern Country, woolens should be put on the free list with all the world the moment our finances will permit; the best woolens to be had for the money, irrespective of nations, would probably be a greater boon to the poor of this country than any other which could be offered them.

We have not the tremendous woolen industries to consider which other nations have, and why should we tax ourselves under reciprocity for the benefit of United States woolen industries?

Mr. Laurier seems to be of the opinion that reciprocity may be effected with the States, even if they insist upon getting more than an exchange of natural products, by giving some of their manufactures preferential treatment; this is nothing more nor less than basing the trade of this country on continued protection. If the object and the effect of the seaboard tariff be not to enhance the price of the cheaper goods, even for revenue purposes, what then is its object? In his speech at Hamilton he was singularly unfortunate in his allusions to the Cobden treaty with France in 1860. He says: "When they say that reciprocity cannot be obtained unless we adopt a similar tariff, I deny this. I think that I can show you that it is possible for us to have reciprocity, each having their own tariff. The proof seems easy. There is not to-day a civilized nation that has not a treaty of commerce with some other nation. After free trade was adopted in England, it was expected that all other nations would follow; it was expected that France would follow above all others, but France did not. The British Government, therefore, in 1860, sent Mr. Cobden to negotiate a treaty with France; and the substance of this treaty was, that a number of manufactured articles of British goods were allowed to be brought into France at a special tariff denied all other nations, while in return French wines were allowed into England at a favoured tariff."

It is to be hoped that Mr. Laurier does not base all his statements on foundations as unsound as this. Of this very treaty, that veteran free trader, the Right Hon. Earl Grey, writes; "They (the free traders) have been taunted, not unjustly, with the failure of Mr. Cobden's prediction, that the free admission of corn for consumption into this country, and the abolition here of other restrictions to the liberty of commerce, would speedily tend to the general adoption of the policy of free trade by civilized nations. The real reason why it did not lead, though more slowly than could be expected, to the result he had on good grounds confidently anticipated was, that this country did not remain true to the principles of the policy it professed to have adopted. I refer to the conclusion of the commercial treaty with France, which involved a departure from one of the main principles of the free trade policy adopted by this country. For nearly thirty years after the peace of 1815, the gov-

ernment was engaged in laborious negotiations with other nations, upon the principle of what it called 'reciprocity,' that is to say, it was to open its ports more freely only to goods of those nations which would in return give greater facilities for the importation of British produce into their territories. These negotiations, like the similar negotiations of other nations with each other, signally failed. In 1843 and 1844 the late Mr. J. L. Ricardo called the attention of the House of Commons to this result, and proposed that, as we had failed in coming to satisfactory arrangements with the most important nations for giving greater freedom to commerce on the principle of 'reciprocity,' we should take a different course, and proceed at once to reduce our own duties on imports as much as the state of our revenue would permit. Mr. Ricardo and his supporters held that the real advantage a nation derives from commerce consists in the larger and cheaper supply it obtains thereby of the various articles consumed by the population, or, in other words, in the greater command thus given to the members of the community of the necessaries and comforts of life. They believe that it is plainly the imports a nation receives which confer upon it this advantage, and that exporting the produce of its own industry is only useful in affording the means of paying directly or indirectly for the imports it requires. This mode of acting with regard to our commercial relations with other countries was adhered to by the various administrations to which power was entrusted up to the year 1860; this will show very clearly how widely this policy was departed from by concluding with France the Commercial Treaty of 1860. The government of that day bound the country by this treaty to reduce the duties charged upon certain articles largely produced in France, it being stipulated in return for these concessions that France should diminish the high duties it levied on some descriptions of English goods. *The treaty of* 1860 *did not go so far in abandoning the policy of free trade as to grant to France a right to have any of its produce admitted to our markets on lower terms than the similar produce of other countries.*"

Lord Grey further treats this treaty of Mr. Cobden's as a departure from that gentleman's own principles, and a fatal error. He was working with Mr. Cobden hand and glove at the time, but

differed with him on this point. He says that it became a law only by virtue of Mr. Cobden's great name, and with the help of the old protectionists, who thought that they saw in it the beginning of the end of free trade.

France was working on a protection basis, and the admission of British manufactures into that country under a reciprocity treaty was perfectly consistent with protection principles, like all other "civilised nations" who were working out protection theories. But we did not understand Mr. Laurier to be arguing out his case on a "protection" basis for Canada; on the contrary, we understood his whole speech to be an appeal for the freedom of trade. On the British side, the favour was granted to France on an article of which France had almost a monopoly, a certain grade of light sour wines; but where is the parallel to that proposed with the United States? Are the positions to be reversed, and are we to be the protectionist country, admitting their manufactures in exchange for some one or more favoured articles of which we have almost a monopoly, say lumber? If that be all, would it not be better to trade freely with the party that will give us the greater quantity of manufactures in exchange for our lumber, wheat, and anything else which we have to give?

All free traders must regret the publication of such letters as Mr. Edgar addressed on the 24th of January last to his constituents. Here we have the liberal argument again based on protection. He advocates unrestricted reciprocity with the United States on some lines of manufactured goods, giving them differential treatment against the rest of the world. Who can define "differential treatment" on any other than on a protection basis? And furthermore, differential treatment is not to produce a revenue, for we are to get the goods from the United States under reciprocity, are to pay somewhat higher for them than if they came from abroad, and are to be minus revenue into the bargain.

Mr. Edgar argues that, under such an arrangement, time would have to be given the government to do various things; amongst others, "providing other sources of revenue."

I believe that it has been fairly well established that a decreasing tariff results in an expanding revenue. What is there wrong with

Canada, that, if this be applicable to other countries, it should be inapplicable to her? He also refers to the Cobden treaty between England and France, and goes on: "If we were an independent nation we would assuredly seek to enlarge our trade by such treaties all over the world." Would we? Well, in the first place, our market is so small that we might find some difficulty in making a satisfactory arrangement with say Germany on any large line of goods. That country might hesitate before making any particular change for the benefit of such a small market, and in the second place I would call his attention to the fact, that such an assertion sounds strangely, when followed by nearly a column of printed matter, proving that, so far as regards our tariff, we are an independent nation.

He is addressing farmers; the position argued out by him has not favoured the farmers of Vermont or New Hampshire, and three-fourths of Michigan is practically a wilderness, while out of the sixty counties of New York State, twenty-two show a decrease in population between the census of 1880 and 1890, and five show an increase of less than a thousand in the ten years.

Taking our manufactures from the country south of us, and depending upon the nation away over to the northeast for our market, is placing ourselves on something the same basis as the Pacific Coast.

Statistics prove that our sales to England are increasing, while our purchases are falling off. This can go on to a certain point, and that point is represented by the extra amount of produce which our producers are unwilling to give in exchange for the necessaries of life. Hard times come with low prices; when that point is reached, the producers then protest. As sure as the English pound sterling is the standard of all value in money, so sure is it that the English free trade nation represent the standard of all price, and a tariff is plus that standard.

Reciprocity with any protectionist country means protection and no revenue. I may be insane, but I cannot see any other result. I humbly protest against false doctrine. The closer we can get to free trade nations the greater the benefit from a free trader's point of view, and the Liberals are supposed to represent free trade principles.

It is on the cards, however, that all these difficulties may be swept away, and most satisfactorily disposed of by the United States making a rapid reduction of its own tariff; but why should Canada wait?

It may be argued that giving a free trade nation differential treatment in our markets would also seriously affect our revenue; for the imports, coming from protectionist countries which had paid full duties, would be replaced by imports coming from free trade countries which paid a less *ad valorem* duty. Again I say the increased imports would have to be depended upon to make up the necessary revenue; but there is one thing absolutely certain,—a tariff framed on this basis would relieve the Canadian consumer from the evils of double taxation for revenue and for protection.

For the market for our surplus, our present government trust that Canada, in common with the rest of the Empire, will be given differential treatment by England, especially as against the United States. This would be very fine; the idea maintained being that the whole Empire would be benefited thereby. Emigrants would flock to the country where they were, as a matter of fact, to get a bonus on all wheat which they might raise; the Empire would develop, and everything be lovely—in fact, as nearly as modern conditions will permit, the old exploded Grenvillian idea of a century and a quarter back vamped up as a strictly fresh discovery. Incidentally, our Conservatives would be able to keep up their protection to native industry. That the manufacturers would in return open wide their gates to English goods is a little too much to believe.

This twopenny view is opposed to the condition which exists. Territorially, England is somewhat smaller than Virginia, somewhat larger than New York, but in it live, move and have their being, thirty-two millions of, without exception, the freest people on earth. Their little bit of half an Island, however, will not support them alone, and to live they must trade with the outside world. Accordingly, their public opinion tolerates their pushing their flag into every quarter of the globe, and maintaining it there with all the risks of war and complication; for them there is no escape, they must trade or starve. Consequently, if one set of men whom they place in power do not make satisfactory arrangements, another set will; they

must stand free to do the best business they can with anyone and everybody. It is in vain to ask them to discriminate against Russia, France, the United States, South America or anyone else, in order that we and some other portions of the Empire may maintain a protection tariff, and that is all which the Conservative proposition amounts to.

That these men over there will fight hard for their trade is a foregone conclusion. Their policy being to keep the seas open, they push their trade into all quarters of the world. If one people will not exchange with them, another will; and, although the sudden and constantly changing tariffs of some protectionist countries tend to throw their business into temporary confusion, in the main they maintain themselves.

While recognizing the right of nations to make what laws they deem best for their own interests, and of those "civilized nations" wedded to protection to agree to lower their respective tariffs in each other's favour, it is not probable that in the present temper of the English workingman they would tolerate any interference in any quarter in which they had a right, and a summons for "hands off" would be supported by a united people.

To fill up our agricultural West, let us down the bars on English goods, as far as our fiscal arrangements will permit, relying on the increased imports at the lower duty to maintain the revenue. Free exchange being no robbery, with ships getting full inward cargoes, no bolsters to protection would be needed to encourage grain to come to Montreal. Full freight both ways would make lower freights all around, and being in possession of the cheaper route for this dead weight of grain, with free canals, would be differential trade quite sufficient to give us the advantage over the restrictive United States, and more than balance any differential duty which England, without hardship to herself, could ever put upon her food supply.

With no iron that we know of, and coal only in limited areas, it will be a long time before our plains will support a manufacturing population. The plains are agricultural, and, in general terms, the buyers of the necessaries of life in this West of ours being the sellers of the necessaries of English life, would create a trade, the volume of which would only be limited by the question of supply and demand.

The spring wheat belt is moving northward with a rapidity which threatens to overtake politicians; and with the people west of Lake Superior, on either side of the line, the question of the best route to market is claiming more attention. This brings Eastern Canada, controlling the St. Lawrence river, prominently into view, and the progress made of late in Lake navigation adds materially to the importance of the natural outlet to the sea.

The "Whaleback" is a vessel apparently very suitable for the Lakes, carrying an immense cargo with perfect safety, and at a minimum cost; she seems about to revolutionize the carrying trade of the West.

The "Charles W. Whetmore" was not the first "Whaleback," but she was the first and only one, I believe, which has crossed the Atlantic. On her trial trip, she carried 87,000 bushels of wheat from Duluth to Liverpool via the St. Lawrence, returned to this side, crossed the Equator, passed through the Straits of Magellan, and is now upon the Pacific Coast. Whatever be her fate, her record proves what such a vessel can do.

Built of steel, 265 feet long, 38 broad, drawing 17 feet of water when loaded with 100,000 bushels of wheat, the advantages claimed for her are, her low cost of construction, her elongated elliptical form, offering less resistance to wind and waves, and thereby gaining for her the small consumption of 10 to 13 tons of coal per day. Some trouble seems to have been experienced in Chicago, during the excessive heat of summer, by the trimmers being unable to remain below; but this seems to have been the only objection.

Although this class of vessel has hardly passed the experimental stage, there are already twenty-eight of them afloat on the upper lakes, and I believe the company have eight on the stocks at the present moment.

On the "Whetmore's" trip, she had to lighter at the Welland; but with that exception, bulk was not broken between Duluth and Liverpool. With a 15 foot channel throughout the whole Canadian system, and this channel as free *from tolls and as open as the river itself*, steam vessels of all kinds would come to Montreal with grain unbroken in bulk.

This "Whaleback" carries her own motive power. For the transfer

of grain from her hold to the hold of a steamship, is there any good reason why she cannot have a light steel elevator beam and spout (the model of which may be seen in any Chicago elevator) set in a steel frame elbow at her own hatchway and with the same power which drives her through the water, do her own elevating into the steamship in our harbour here? The case is different from the lake propeller; as between the propeller and whaleback, the latter is a barge; then this shaft could lie on deck while she traveled through the water. Towage of floating elevators and elevating charges in our harbour would then go to the credit of the whaleback, and indirectly, through the cheapening of freight, into the pockets of the producers in our West and the Western States.

The reason, I take it, why such an arrangement has not been added to her outfit is that there has not been the trade to call for it. The "Whaleback" receives her grain from the land elevator owning its own spout at, say, Duluth, and speeds on to Buffalo to another land elevator on the same basis into which the grain must pass, and from thence into little 8,000 bushel canal boats, or rail cars on to New York. Again the process of elevating and handling must be gone through with before the much taxed bushel finally bids adieu to its American home.

No man can run his business on the lines of twenty-five years back, and live in the competition of to-day. The Canada of the present differs from even that of fifteen years ago to such an extent, that old rules and precedents in trade are only so much ancient history.

The more the country northwest of us develops, the more do the conditions under which we have struggled with New York for trade change in our favour; in fact, the situation is reversed. Heretofore it has been a question of the dead weight of grain drifting northward instead of in a straight line to the more central and larger New York market; now it is a question of the more northerly grain drifting southward, instead of travelling along its more direct route, via our river.

When we depended upon southerly grain exclusively, the fact of Montreal being only a summer port was a heavy pull against her, and, just at the advent of Duluth as a shipping point, our Nationa

policy stepped in, and restricted importations here. With the development of the great Northwest, and freer trade with England, the climatic objection becomes one of far less degree.

The Sault Ste. Marie and the Straits of Mackinaw are, as a usual thing, not open any earlier than is the St. Lawrence. The whole traffic of the St. Lawrence and the whole traffic of Lake Superior may be put on a common basis and under a common rule. Given the volume of trade to carry it, the wheat cargo issuing from Lake Superior with the opening of navigation there, will meet the ocean carrier in the harbour of Montreal, with the result that it may be landed in Liverpool, not only cheaper but quicker than via New York.

From Kingston to Montreal is but 170 miles, and the Americans cannot make a water route to equal it. We possess the only route which, as a matter of business, can carry large lines of grain through from the West to Europe, and also preserve the identity of the cargo in general trade; the loss in mixing, consequent on the breaking-up of a round lot, say, of 10,000 qrs. (80,000 bushels) into 8,000 bushel boat loads on the Erie Canal is known only to shippers.

The quality of this Northern hard wheat is deservedly appreciated across the water, and with a choice of routes at equal rates of freight, the Duluth and Port Arthur dealers would soon discover that "No. 1 Hard," shipped via the St. Lawrence, commanded a premium in the English market, when it was once established that identity of cargo was preserved down to the ocean carrier in Montreal harbour; elevators on land and lighters in the canals would be a more or less obstruction to business.

Give us the requisite depth of water, and the "Whaleback" can meet the demand of the trade. Turning grain into her at the Lake Superior Port, and afterwards into the sea-going vessel in the harbour of Montreal, would be all that was necessary for insuring its good condition; and as "those who can reach the markets of the world cheapest can control the markets of the world," so would the world, the moment confidence was established, look to the St. Lawrence for its "straight" wheat.

Regarding this St. Lawrence route, I submitted a draft of my argument to a member of a leading firm on the Chicago Board of

Trade, and am in receipt of the following answer which I am permitted to use :—

"I read over your Draft carefully last evening, and certainly, from a Canadian standpoint, you are working in a good cause. It is evident you are not booming New York as an ocean port of shipment, or the Erie Canal as a means of inland transportation for grain, particularly wheat. So far as the handling of cargoes of wheat for export from any point of the Upper Lakes,—say Michigan and Superior,—I consider the St. Lawrence route preferable to that through or at any Atlantic port; the main reason for such preference is the preserving of the identity of grain shipped from Western points, which is most important. An exporter, having in nearly all cases to guarantee quality, there is, as you know, no trouble in watching (if necessary) or protecting identity via Kingston and Montreal, whereas via Buffalo it is generally passed through an elevator into small canal boats, and on arrival at New York, if ocean vessel not on hand to receive it, is put into store and often mixed with a similar grade, so called; it is very easy in this way to lose the identity. If special bins are arranged for, severe loss of weight often occurs. Altogether, my experience shipping via New York has been very unsatisfactory, whereas by Montreal we have never had trouble from mixing or loss of weight. I may say right here all the wheat shipped by my firm last year was via the St. Lawrence.

"As regards 'Contract' grades of No. 2 Chicago and New York, I would hardly like to say what the difference in value is; but it is a fact that any so-called No. 2 regular New York wheat would only be No. 3 in Chicago. Nearly all the wheat we shipped last year was for millers in Great Britain, and, with the exception of two lots, was bought in Duluth and shipped via Montreal. The other two lots were 'special bin' here, consisting entirely of 'Hard Northern,' for which we paid good premium over ordinary No. 2 Chicago; these lots also went via Montreal. It does seem to me that the natural water outlet for this hard variety of wheat is via the 'St. Lawrence,' and I should think that Canada would give great attention to this trade, giving it encouragement by keeping down charges, such as canal tolls, etc. Competition is very keen

nowadays, and every dollar counts on a cargo. I think I have covered about all the ground you desire, and, may be, have written too much."

Another Chicago firm write their representatives as follows:—"Please hand them (sundry documents) to the bank that holds the inland Bill of Lading, and see that the inspection certificate is endorsed on the back, showing that the identity of this grain has been preserved until delivered on board said ocean steamer."

Other things then being equal, Montreal would make a very respectable bid for the carrying trade of the West—in fact, its position would be commanding; with a clear course, the advantage of a carrier being independent of elevators or transfer barges must be apparent to anyone.

Some argue that this through trade would be of no advantage to us, that the West would be the only gainers thereby, that the only way of securing a part of the booty is the maintaining of stop-over checks of more or less magnitude. Suppose this for one moment to be true, Kingston and Montreal would be the only two ports adversely affected; but, so far from its being true, the very reverse is the case. Compare Montreal with New York; what is it that has held New York, both City and State, prominent in America for so long a period of time? Other Cities and States have great manufacturing industries and fine land, but they cannot rival New York. What they have not been able to grasp is the importing, distributing and exporting business for half a continent. With such extremes of protection as the United States have been labouring under, New York, being the centre of a great trade and a great population, has developed a manufacturing industry of its own, but it was its exporting and importing business which first gave and has since maintained its pre-eminence. The next great development was Chicago, and again the first great start, when people began to drift westward, was its importing, distributing and exporting business. These are parallel cases, and prove that with the Northwest opening up to us, Montreal, the most northerly port, need not fear the West being the only gainers by a through trade. By far the greatest gainer would be Montreal; and when we allow trade to seek other channels, we are allowing our rivals to

establish themselves in a position from which it will take years to oust them. From the day of the opening of the Straits of Mackinaw to the closing of the season at Montreal, ours will be both the quickest and cheapest route. In the main, now that the Northwest country is opening up, the only rival to New York must be Montreal. The dead weight of grain raised in the central States may easily travel in a straight line east to the seaboard: but wheat raised in the Northwest will not drift Southeast on its journey to Northern Europe, unless forced into that eccentric line through the insanity of the people possessing the more direct and the cheaper route.

The ocean carrier loading at lake ports is probably a myth. Did she carry passengers, they would leave her at the first port of entry, and the capital invested in this ocean vessel could not stand the delay of canal locks both ways, in competition with the cheaper lake tonnage, especially of the "Whaleback"; and of this latter vessel, a quick trip between interior points would pay better than one over the ocean in competition with 8,000 ton ships.

Our present National policy is framed to the end of protecting native industry, namely, the cutting off of imports and replacing them with our own manufactures. The object of opening up this Northwest is to get men to go there and farm; if it is to be a success at all, is it not true that one hundred millions of grain are to be there ready for export within a very few years? If we are to restrict imports, how is this surplus to be exported? If ships cannot get inward cargoes, they will not come these thousand miles inland for outward cargoes alone; these outward freights cannot go up to a point which will pay them to come here in ballast; there is no chance, as on the Pacific Coast, for bleeding the farmer when there is a pressure to export. Without free inward cargoes, freights outward from Montreal will go just high enough to send our grain along the longer route to New York and Boston, and that is the extra charge which must come out of the pocket of the Manitoba farmer.

Freights, year in and year out, average higher with us than they do in New York, and to just that extent are we playing the game for the Americans (1)

(1) See Appendix.

Although the lake carrier of the present day will not make a success of it as an ocean carrier too, these whalebacks can cross the Atlantic. They are built exclusively of iron and steel; let them be built in free trade England, let them come up through our canals, and, as a carrier of grain, what chance would a protection built vessel have on the Lakes? They could make a living where a higher priced vessel would starve, and the cheaper the freight both ways, the greater the benefit to both producers and consumers. English and Canadian capital could quickly lead that trade as they do that of the ocean; but there is very little use in making preparations in the shape of either deepening the canals or lengthening their basins, if the necessary link is not to be permitted to be in its place in the harbour of Montreal. (1)

The success of the United States under protection is not a case in point. That country opened up under quite different conditions; there were millions of people in it before a railroad whistle was heard; and, under a tariff for revenue, ships entered every seaport from Maine southward, carrying goods for distribution to the adjacent country, and loading with the product of that country in return. In those days roads were rough and few, and in 1824 protection was advocated even by farmers, because they had neither a home nor a foreign market, if they were a certain distance from the coast. With the advent of the railroad, and the impetus since, and the result of the war, the Western country has opened up at an unprecedented rate. The war, the millions upon millions of greenbacks, which eventually represented standard gold, the spreading of railroads, the emigration, all these acted as so much stimulant when free land was the backbone of the country and made protection a success; but in all this there is no parallel for Canada; free land and protection will not do it alone. The parallel does come in, when we reach the Pacific Coast; free land was there, and, favoured by a fine country, handicapped industry is making a persevering attempt to maintain itself; but the Coast is not only backward but

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(1) Canada's imports remain stationary. They were for 1873, $128,011,281; or 1874, $128,213,582; for 1892, $127,406,068.

flat; with 90 per cent. of not only what a man wears, but what he uses, paying its tribute to protection and railways, no other explanation is necessary. So is it with our Northwest; a long freightage westward is bad enough, but to cap it with protection taxes into the bargain seems a curious way of starting a new country, where farming and mining must be the main sources of gaining a living. Placing all the necessaries of life at a fictitious price in the first instance looks like making it up-hill work at the very hardest time, —the first start in a new country.

In the future, we may see a race of men in our central plains benefited by the freest exchange possible with the consumers of the Old World, and farther on in the mountains beyond, those whose natural instincts carried them into the pine-clad ranges and wooded valleys of the Rockies. There, as time went on, they would develop a life of their own, with the vast granary at their feet, equidistant between Europe and Asia; the water power, the boundless supply of timber and doubtless mineral wealth would generate a trade, the natural result of agricultural development, while the protection afforded to their native industries would be the natural protection afforded by their position, in the heart of a Continent beyond the reach of their European competitors, where freight counted as an item in the cost. A nation might then swiftly arise on a natural and sure foundation, neither forced nor checked by unnatural laws.

In travelling over the different trans-continental lines, it is this growth of timber throughout our whole mountain region which calls for more particular remark. Southward even where the Northern Pacific Railroad traverses Washington State, the mountains enclosing a valley as fertile at the Yakami rise abruptly in great brown, bald, treeless wastes from their very base. The depression in the Rocky Mountain-range farther North, allowing the moisture of the coast to travel Eastward, changes the whole face of nature, and is marked on the present line of the railroad by these tree-clad mountains, in place of sage bush and brown earth. The effect produced on the mind is, that, while in one no one will ever care to live, in the other, people will, just as they do in Switzerland to-day; but so long as the settler can obtain land through which he may drive a plough immediately, no one need expect him to undertake a

clearing in preference. Until we fill our plains with workers, our mountain valleys must be held in reserve.

The question may be asked: Suppose there had been no international line in the first instance, would not this transportation question have solved itself? It would, entirely in favour of New York.

Canadians of Ontario and Quebec need not fear a policy calculated to carry them towards a position of disputing with New York State for the business of a Continent.

Freights last summer from New York to ports in the United Kingdom ruled between 8d. and 2s. 8d. per quarter, against 1s. 6d. to 3s. 3d. from Montreal; (1) neither was the past year any exception to the general rule, while the distance from port to port is, if anything, in our favour. That a considerable amount of grain did come to Montreal from Chicago, on through shipment to Liverpool, proves that our route has some advantage over New York, even when handicapped with higher ocean freights. If ocean tonnage could be placed in our harbour on the same basis as in the New York market, a very interesting problem, indeed, would be offered to that City and State.

There is just one way of accomplishing this: Encourage imports.

Imports may be increased by making our country the cheaper country to live in. I wish to sound a note of warning: dissatisfaction exists in our great West. They feel out there that they are being exploited for the benefit of the East; they are not of the class of men who have spread over the Western States; they use our own tongue, they are our own people; and so long as protection is the acknowledged policy of our country, no amount of argument will induce them to believe that they cannot purchase from abroad cheaper than they can at home. There is, within the bounds of common assertion, no limit for our imports, once it is understood that the necessaries of life are to be had in what, without the slightest exaggeration, may be called our agricultural Empire, at a price which would represent

(1) Appendix tables.

the nearest approach possible to cost and freight. Men would have courage where now they feel a weight; the imagination may be all nonsense, but it takes pluck to go out into these plains and start a farm, when every second man will tell you that everything costs so much that there is nothing in it, and that you are only working for the manufacturers down East. Reverse this policy: let the man stand conscious of his freedom, and a class of men will go into farming who will once more make farming popular. What is true of our West is also true of our East. Is there a single merchant in a business centre who does not know that business is best when the farmers buy? And yet a policy is maintained which restricts their purchases and discourages farming. A nation's imports proclaim its buying powers, its wealth; exactly as in private life our domestic purchases proclaim our prosperity; the more we have, the more we buy and import.

Free trade has not beaten the farmer in free trade in England; but steam and electricity have brought the high priced and high rented farms there down nearer to a business level with the cheap lands of America, both North and South, and of Australia. How could high rents and high prices maintain there, when continually decreasing freight charges brought the product of continually increasing areas on to their market in competition with their home products, and were the men in that land to continue to pay higher prices for their bread than the world would charge them for it, merely that landlords and farmers might make a better living thereby? If this be true with regard to them, what arguments can be produced supporting an analogous state of affairs with regard to manufacturers here? Why should 90 per cent. of our people pay more for a given article than the world would charge them for it?

Neither would we be only wheat producers for England; we are like a new firm starting in business. If we do not work up the lines first, which will pay best, it is probable that we shall fail. With a hundred millions of acres of fine land lying vacant, and 154,000 additional workers under a National Policy, which interest is the most valuable for us to push as a nation for all that it is worth? Given a great agricultural development, native industries will not only maintain themselves, but multiply. Our new firm will have

capital—the profit of its business made in these agricultural resources—and stand ready to extend its lines as the market demands.

What line of imports would we have at the Port of Montreal if we had three millions of men in our West instead of three hundred thousand? Is there any line of business which would develop more rapidly into nationai wealth than the trade represented by a population so situated?

In the first years of the Civil War, American Generals, when in a quandary, were always asking themselves, what, under the circumstances, would Napoleon do? Grant was the first man who said, "I don't care a rap what he would have done." Do not let us fix our eyes too closely on the success of the States; with power drifting Westward, the West is already repudiating a policy the result of necessity and of prejudices created by a war. Where was our war? Protection taxes are of no benefit to our West, and when we check their development by legislation, we expect, from a national standpoint, that the cart will draw the horse.

These greatly increased exports for which we are arranging can only be possible with greatly increased imports; and had this been the policy in the past, it would in fourteen or twenty years have done much more than provide labour for 154,719 additional adults and children.

It is an exploded idea, that of selling for gold alone; the transportation problem enters at once into one of the success of our Country; it is a question of our existence. We stand with millions of acres of arable land in our far West, but divided from the sea by hundreds of miles of impenetrable forests and barren and uninhabitable lands.

A glance at the map will show immediately, that for us there is no Indiana, Illinois or Wisconsin to form stepping stones between our East and our West; but, on the other hand, we are in possession of the shortest and cheapest route to the sea, and our salvation depends upon our making the most of it.

I cannot close this chapter without reiterating at the risk of some little repetition, that Reciprocity with the States—except in natural products—means double taxation for Canadians. Do we reduce our tariff in their favour say 50 per cent., our taxation represents our

receipts from tariff, and the taxation represented by their protection too; besides, favored by differential treatment, they will drive English goods out of our market, and the full taxes charged on the cheaper goods will be lost to our Federal treasury, without relieving us from the evils of protection; the deficit will then have to be made up in some other manner, and time will have to be given, as Mr. Edgar argues.

I believe that there are very many States in the American Union to-day that would be better off with free trade with the world instead of free trade with their sister States; but, in their case, they have no choice, they must accept the position as it stands.

So long as a people have surplus product to dispose of, the price which that surplus will sell for makes the price for the whole. So long as the United States export agricultural product, they do not want our surplus for consumption any more than we do ourselves. In fixing this price we must not see any imaginary international line.

What they are perfectly ready and willing to do is to transport our surplus, handle it, do our business for us, and that is all; and if we arrange our affairs so that they can do it cheaper than we can, who is there to blame but ourselves?

The only true Reciprocity is universal free trade, and when run to the ground, the only reason why we cannot have this complete freedom, is on account of the practical difficulties of direct taxation; but Reciprocity on any other basis is simply a bonus to some particular manufacturers to prevent cheaper manufacturers under-selling them. In one other word, Protection.

The following telegram has appeared in our papers on date.—"Washington, March 15th. The Senate Committee on relations with Canada consists of Messrs. Murphy, chairman, Pugh, Colquitt Hunton and Mitchell, the four latter being Republican."

I believe that this is a new committee, the creation of the present administration; it stands distinct from the Committee on General Foreign Relations.

The routine observed in the Government machinery at Washington is that all bills (and treaties) are first referred to these several Committees of Congress; and that no bill can be admitted for debate until favourably reported back by the Committee to which it has been referred.

The result is that these Committees are the graves of thousands of bills, as it is practically impossible to pass a bill unless favourably reported.

The composition of this particular Committee, which has now the handling of Canadian affairs, is of deep interest to Canadians ; four of those composing it are Republicans. The Cleveland administrations now clearly indicate that there is to be no change in the Republican programme with regard to Canada ; the Committee is overwhelmingly Republican.

It is to be hoped that Canadians will not be weak enough to continue preaching Reciprocity.

While Congress may reduce duties all round on their own lines, it is a satisfaction to us to know that the past few years have proved our independence of them, and our independence would be more clear did we make a marked cut on our seaboard duties.

OUR DESTINY.

Canada is very much interested in the proposed Federation of the Empire, its object being to obtain the benefit of the English market at the expense of the United States. Sentiment is altogether a secondary consideration, for sentiment is fully met by the Empire as it is.

While Federation in the form of a defence league is one of formal agreement only, and affects no one but ourselves, Federation under a customs league is quite a different affair, and affects the world at large. It might easily be, that a league on this basis would put it in the power of the United States to interfere seriously with this very union of the Empire, which so many people have at heart.

If it be true that the recent Democratic upheaval in the United States has been brought about by the masses in their desire for relief from tariff taxation, it is these masses who would be hardest hit by an Imperial customs league. It is not to be expected that to this they would submit tamely; and in the event of their legislating in their own interests in such a manner as to turn the tables on the Colonial Empire, by offering great advantages in trade to the masses in the United Kingdom, in what position would British Statesmen be pledged to prevent the consummation of this desirable end? Under the system of popular government existing in England, can there be any doubt as to the result? It would not be conducive to Imperial sentiment for the Colonial Empire to feel that it had been used as a fulcrum for the benefit of the United Kingdom and the United States. So far as a customs league goes, Federation of the British Empire without the United States is an impossibility.

As for independence of the Empire, or annexation to the United States, far better would it be to go annexation without independence, as the one must follow the other.

Who could study an important question with the sword of Damocles over his head? It is just so with our independence of the Empire: with independence the tender plant Capital would disap-

pear, new enterprises would be an impossibility, and, as there would be some question about our maintaining ourselves, Capital would observe a neutrality which would simply lead to bankruptcy. Under the distress and dismay of our moribund existence, annexation would raise its head, as then in truth the only panacea for the ills of which the State was the victim.

As certain as the attraction of the lesser is to the greater, would annexation follow our withdrawal from the Empire. Independent of the United Kingdom we stand to-day, inasmuch as any checks upon our freedom are self-imposed, by virtue of their acceptance by us.

Without wishing to shirk our responsibilities, and favouring a strictly Imperial policy, I make the assertion—with all deference to those who are familiar with and studying out the problems of this Empire—that Canada is really independent of the United Kingdom; and that the sooner Foreign nations understand the position which she holds within the Empire, the better will it be for the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States.

Between the conflicting interests represented first by independence, and then by annexation projects, in a newly formed confederacy of mixed language and widely separated communities, it is hardly possible to conceive of the transfers being made without the destruction of life and property, and the financial ruin of the present generation of Canadians. Would we accept the position of Hawaiians by permitting United States troops to guard our lives and property until the will of the people (!) had become manifest? Great would be the descent on the part of United Empire Loyalists.

Even if there were a base for the assertion that fresh capital would come from over the line in anticipation of annexation, that capital would fight shy of Quebec and Ontario, as well as of the Maritime Provinces. The certainty that the United States would not accept the Province of Quebec as a State, with its established Church and treaty rights, would alone throw a cloud over everything east of Michigan.

Is it not a fact that the highest ideal of government is freedom and security? It is not too much to assert, that the only reason why war on a large scale is possible in this world to-day is on account of the

unfortunate split in the dominant race. Were what is now represented by our old flag and the new the mandate of one, would it be necessary to enlist a single soldier to enforce the decree? And yet, for independence, here are men to-day professing themselves ready to commit the folly of a hundred and twenty years ago, and again subdivide the race.

While free speech and debate are the best safeguards of liberty, any agitation looking to a change of Sovereignty should be undertaken only as a last resort, and in consequence of some unbearable tyranny, or decided and unqualified advantage, and in fact necessity; for it carries in its train uncertainty and the consequent interruption of trade and development.

The latest change in Sovereignty has been in the case of Brazil; the reports which we now receive from that country are not conducive to the investment of capital, whereas, before, it was remarkable amongst South American nations for its steady government. Of course we are vastly superior to the Brazilians, and with a change of Ministers, our superiority would display itself in so marvellous a manner, that a change of Sovereignty would be the last thing contemplated by those in power.

As regards these miserable creatures, who, lacking the manliness to acknowledge their convictions, merely use independence as a cloak for annexation, no position in the body politic is too low for them to fill: they are simply the *canaille* of their country.

Neither would we be gainers in security by either independence or annexation. Europe will never again land hostile troops on this Continent, and will it be argued that we should obliterate our nationality—when on the very threshold of national advancement—on account of the risk of a stray cruiser or two? The question of the supply of coal almost precludes the possibility of a raiding vessel remaining long on our coasts, and this represents our whole risk in European complications. On the other hand, to annex would only be to throw ourselves amongst the unsolved problems of that country, accept of their tariff as it stood, whether it suited our North and Pacific Coast or not, and give Texas, Kentucky, Georgia and many other States, with whom—with the black population increasing—we have less and less in common every year, equal rights in deciding

upon the particular wants of Quebec, Nova Scotia and of the whole North Country.

It is easier to make bad laws than to get rid of them when once passed; the Governors of several Western States have protested over and over again, in their official reports, that the land laws of the United States are not suitable for their part of the country. It is obvious to the most superficial observer that there is something wrong on the Pacific Coast—in fact, their body politic is already so big, that it is impossible for States so distant to bring pressure on the central body sufficient to make their wants respected.

Of freedom greater than we now possess, it is not possible to conceive. There is not any demand that we may make which, as a matter of fact, can be denied us; while, as a part of the United States, we would, in the last resort, be compelled to submit to the verdict of a body known as three-quarters of all the States of the Union.

Take our Executive, for instance. Would many of us care to have our Executive the leader of one party in the State? Let us imagine him seated at either Ottawa or Washington; this would be the first question which we would have to settle under any other form of Government. It may be, truly, that the clearness and freshness of our winter atmosphere has, in the depths of our electoral, generated many Washingtons, who, although as yet in an embryo existence, give great promise for the future. The supply, however, having given out amongst our friends to the South, it would not be safe to depend upon a very great number here, although apparently our raw material is unlimited.

While the framers of the American Constitution believed that they had made excellent arrangements for an Executive above and independent of party, and, in the person of George Washington, were in possession of a man who filled the bill, yet it stands proved today that from this high standard they have fallen to that of their Executive, having to maintain the dignity of their country, and be the scapegoat for all the undignified minutiæ incidental to the leadership of a party into the bargain.

Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth," says of the idea of the framers of the American Constitution, the President "was to repre-

sent the nation as a whole. The independence of his position, with nothing either to gain or fear from Congress, would, it was hoped, leave him free to think only of the welfare of the people."

Amongst the advisers of the President in the first cabinet of the United States sat together Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton.

The contrast in the position of our Canadian and the United States Executive does not show to any great extent yet; but give us twenty-five to thirty millions of people, an Executive following out our idea, and maintained in the position which such a nation will call for, the exhibition then, every four or six years, of an Executive officer, representative of the dignity of Washington, the President of such a nation as the United States, marching up to the poll, and, principle or no principle, voting for himself, is only one of the many object-lessons which will serve to steady us in the desire of perfecting our own institutions under our own lines of thought. The "American Commonwealth" has found a place in every reader's library, both in England and America. On this point of the connection of the Executive with party, the author says: "The choice of party leaders as Presidents has in America caused far less mischief than might have been expected. Nevertheless, those who have studied the scheme of Constitutional Monarchy, as it works in England or Belgium or Italy, or the reproductions of that system in British Colonies, where the Crown-appointed Governor stands outside the strife of factions as a permanent official, will, when they compare the institutions of these countries with the American Presidency, be impressed with the merits of a plan which does not unite all the dignity of office with all the power of office, and which, by placing the titular chief of the executive alone and apart from party, makes the civil and military services feel themselves the servants rather of the nation than of any section of the nation, and suggests to them that their labours ought to be rendered with equal heartiness to whatever party may hold the reins of government. Party government may be necessary. But it is a necessary evil; and whatever tends to diminish its mischievous influence upon the machinery of administration, and prevent it from obtruding itself on Foreign States; whatever holds up a high ideal

of devotion to the nation as a majestic whole, living on from century to century while parties form and dissolve and form again, strengthens and ennobles the commonwealth of all the citizens."

The career of Lord Dufferin, as Governor General of Canada, was a brilliant example in point. Two extracts from his speeches will serve to illustrate the position of the Constitutional Executive, representing Canadian ideas:

"On my way across the lakes, I called in at the City of Chicago, a city that has risen more splendid than ever from her ashes, and at Detroit, the home of one of the most prosperous and intelligent communities on this Continent. At both places I was received with the utmost kindness and courtesy by the civil authorities and by the citizens themselves, who vied with each other in making me feel with how friendly an interest that great and generous people, who have advanced the United States to so splendid a position in the family of nations, regard their Canadian neighbours. But, though disposed to watch with genuine admiration and sympathy the development of our Dominion into a great power, our friends across the line are wont, as you know, to amuse their lighter moments with the large utterances of the early gods. More than once I was addressed with the playful suggestion that Canada should unite her fortunes with the Great Republic. To these invitations I invariably replied by acquainting them that in Canada we were essentially a Democratic people, that nothing would content us unless the popular will could exercise an immediate and complete control over the Executive of the country, that the Ministers who conducted the Government were a committee of Parliament, which was itself an emanation from the constituencies, and that no Canadian would be able to breath freely if he thought that the persons administering the affairs of his country were removed beyond the supervision and contact of our legislative assemblies. And, gentlemen, in this extemporised repartee of mine, there will, I think, be found a germ of sound philosophy. In fact, it appears to me that even from the point of view of the most enthusiastic advocate of popular rights, the Government of Canada is nearly perfect, for while you are free from those historical complications which sometimes clog the free running of our Parliamentary machinery at home, while you possess every

popular guarantee and privilege that reason can demand, you have an additional element of elasticity introduced into your system in the person of the Governor-General. For in most forms of government, should a misunderstanding occur between the head of the State and the representatives of the people, a dead lock might ensue of a very grave character, inasmuch as there would be no appeal to a third party, and dead locks are the danger of all constitutional systems; whereas in Canada, should the Governor-General and his legislature unhappily disagree, the misunderstanding is referred to England, whose only object, of course, is to give free play to your Parliamentary institutions, and who would immediately replace an erring and impracticable Viceroy—for such things can be—by another officer more competent to his duties, without the slightest hitch or disturbance having been occasioned in the orderly march of your affairs. If then the Canadian people are loyal to the Crown, it is with reasoning loyalty; it is because they are able to appreciate the advantage of having inherited a constitutional system so workable, so well balanced, and so peculiarly adapted to their especial wants." Once more let us quote him when addressing "My Lords and Gentlemen" in London; he said, "that they (the Canadians) desire to maintain intact and unimpaired their connection with this country, that they cherish an ineradicable conviction of the pre-eminent value of the political system under which they live, and that they are determined to preserve pure and uncontaminated all the traditional characteristics of England's prosperous polity. It would be impossible to overstate the universality, the force, the depth of this sentiment; and proud am I to think that an assemblage, so representative of the public opinion of this country as that which I see around me, should have met together to reciprocate it, and to do justice to it. But, my Lords and gentlemen, I should be conveying to you a very wrong impression, if I give you to understand that the enthusiastic loyalty of the Canadian people to the Crown and person of our Gracious Sovereign, their tender and almost yearning love for the mother country, the desire to claim their part in the future fortunes of the British Empire, and to sustain all the obligations such a position may imply, was born of any weak or unworthy spirit of depen-

dence. So far from that being the case, no characteristic of a national feeling is more strongly marked than their exuberant confidence in their ability to shape their own destinies to their appointed issues, their jealous pride of the legislative autonomy with which they have been endowed, and their patriotic and personal devotion to the land within whose ample bosom they have been nurtured, and which they justly regard as more largely dowered with all that can endear a country to its sons than any other in the world. And I can assure you, this intense affection can surprise no one who has traversed her picturesque and fertile territories, where mountain, plain, valley, river, lake and forest, prairie and tableland alternately invite by their extraordinary magnificence and extort the wonder and the admiration of the traveller."

When a majority in the Canadian Parliament declare for an Executive of their own election from amongst their own people, and this demand is refused by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, it will then be time enough to unsettle trade with questions of independence or annexation.

Let any of our French citizens who truly believe in independence, in the interests of French Canadian aspirations, carefully study the sentiments of the people of the United States. No exclusively French nation would long be permitted to exist by the Anglo-Saxon nations surrounding it on all sides, especially one holding the outlet for such a trade as the St. Lawrence must represent. We hear often of the Stars and Stripes in connection with the whole continent to the pole, and for a French Canadian to advocate independence is simply to advocate his own destruction. Even were he tolerated by the vast majority, he would not be independent, for he would have to do as he was told, or take the consequences.

Our French Canadian friends need not expect that the Anglo-Saxon majority would long remain independent with them: loosely thrown together as States, and widely separated as Communities, they would not stand the strain of the snapping of the old ties. Our memories can easily carry us back to Mr. Blaine's attempt to make a treaty with Newfoundland, which would have shut our fishermen out of that Colony's waters. With an independent Canada on their North, a most inviting field would be offered to United States diplo-

macy. Proposals might be made which would be very acceptable to some particular section of this independent Canada but exceedingly distasteful to the rest. Americans do not want us, until we come of our own accord! Take British Columbia, for instance; the census gives an increase of 21,334 of Canadian birth against an increase of 26,820 of foreign birth, and if our efforts to draw emigrants are to meet with success, the voting power in our new Provinces (new independent States?) for some time on is to be in the hands of those to whom an independent Canada would simply be a geographical expression. English, Scotch, Irish, German, American and other voters of foreign birth would certainly not stand any dictation from French of Canadian birth. Here would be a great opportunity for a second Mr. Blaine, and the glory of carrying the Stars and Stripes to the North Pole would encircle the Statesman's brow with a halo sufficient to ensure two full terms of Presidential office. Chatham, when he settled the Scotch question by carrying the kilted regiments into every battlefield in Europe, would be nowhere.

The case is widely different from that of the formation of the United States; any history of that country will show that up to 1812 (1) the usual relief from supposed ills was secession from the Federal body, and afterwards in 1832 when South Carolina seceded. Had there been a nation of sixty-five millions on their frontier their union could hardly have been maintained; and just so with us: the French, with their Church and language, would have to accept the position left, and submit to be ruled. They are in such a hopeless minority on this Continent, and so close to a nation in which a minority has no rights, that their only salvation depends upon their maintaining a sentiment which carries this country independent of its Southern neighbour.

When they have over-run and occupied the New England States, their very compactness will give them a position which they may maintain with marked effect on the destiny of this Continent; but to spring the mine prematurely in the present day is to pass off in smoke.

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(1) Massachusetts and Connecticut refused to send their contingents to that war.

It may not be a pleasant or constitutional way of putting it, but the cold fact remains, that the peculiar position which the Dominion of Canada holds prevents either the United Kingdom or the United States from using force to coerce her, even if they had the will. It may be asked, from a purely Canadian stand-point, and to meet the most selfish and unsentimental in the land, is there any change outside of the Empire upon which this would improve? While holding aloof from the problems peculiar to the Southern country, we govern ourselves as we please upon the North.

"*An Empire is an aggregate of political bodies bound together by a common relation to a Central State, but whose relations to it may vary from the closest dependency to the loosest adhesion.*"

When Green in his history of the English people wrote these words he was referring to the false position into which our ancestors, on both sides of the water, drifted, when failing to recognize Imperial responsibilities as co-existent with national interests. It is well that he lesson should be applied, even in this day of general enlightenment and education, and to none more than to ourselves.

National sentiment is undoubtedly developing amongst us, but there is reason to fear that this sentiment is being used by an active, unprincipled and bastard minority, un-Canadian in birth and sentiment, a minority which arrogates to itself a position to which it is not entitled, and which at home here we could well afford to treat with the contempt it deserves, did not its loud-mouthed yelps deceive a nation to the South as to the real sentiments of the people on their North.

Of those 80,000 of United States birth, and their children who dwell amongst us, we must expect their sentiments to carry them more or less in sympathy with their Southern relations, but the error must not be permitted of allowing them to speak as representing Canadian sentiment; of some others, the loaf should be turned on heir approaching the table.

A position of independence within an Empire leaves to these national aspirations full of vigour and life, and allows full scope for the development of Canadian sentiment coupled with Imperial patriotism. (1) Tbe great bugbear to the attainment of such a position

(1) A parallel on a small scale is to be found in the States, in their loyalty each to their own State and to their Union.

at present is the fear that treaties negotiated by our Statesmen would conflict with Imperial treaties, and carry the Imperial flag into conflict with others.

Lately Mr. Blaine called upon the Government of Italy to recognize the status of the United States. He said that it was as impossible for that foreign Government to interfere with the free and independent State of Louisiana as it was for the United States itself.

What is the matter with this argument as applied by us and to ourselves? The world must recognize the British Empire as it is, and perhaps as not being exactly as some would like it to be. Give Canada a chance; those of us who have travelled often between the Atlantic and Pacific know that all that is necessary is for her to give herself the chance, and before we turn the Government of our country over to our children, twenty millions of people will stand ready to maintain the Empire, representing altogether a force with which it is not a difference of opinion regarding barter that will empt a collision in arms.

Our destiny is not easily disposed of.

It is possible that on account of the favourable position which we hold in relation to the Northern wheat belt, when considered with the development of our water and railway transportation facilities, a tier of free States may, by virtue of their own interests, be attached more to Canada than to, let us say, Pennsylvania, Kentucky or Flotida; that is to say, if we endow these Northwestern States with the benefit of cheap transportation, the advent of the Twentieth Century may mark a new era of thought on this Continent of America.

Should the mass of voters in these wheat States of the North come to the conclusion that the sentimentality involved in the traditions of the Thirteen Colonies was interfering with their material prosperity, a new rendering might be given to our destiny.

SENTIMENT.

With trade and transportation arguments sentiment appears to be out of place; nevertheless, it is not trade that rules the world, but sentiment.

Let all who would bring everything down to a basis of dollars and cents only, consider what it is, that in the last resort carries men up to the line of fire, and holds them there, when life is as cheap as the falling autumn leaves.

If they have no practical experience, or are in doubt, then let them cross the line, and ask of those who faced each other at Shiloh and Gettysburg, where were the men who represented sentiment with her allies—pride and discipline, and where were those who represented dollars and cents? Some of us are of the opinion that our great emigration will come from the United States. Our country is opening up at a time when theirs has become so great a power, that citizens of United States birth and education justly consider it undignified to assert themselves the equals of the highest in any land. The maintaining of such a position has been delegated to the newly landed emigrant, whose heart is permitted to swell beneath the "Declaration" securely buttoned up in his waistcoat pocket; consequently, much of the boorishness of earlier years has passed away. Sensitive they are in the extreme, but it is only when a man makes himself obnoxious that he draws down the ire of the free and enlightened. "Martin Chuzzlewit" has lost its sting, and an orator would not now face the ridicule of an attack upon George III.

No Canadian can imagine a greater future for his country than that of giving homes to those born on this free Continent of America to-day. It is to be hoped that the most energetic and enterprising amongst them will meet another stream of free-born men from our own British Islands, and that Canadians will be able to offer a nationality, in the institutions of which, be it in a majority or a personality, "tyranny of the ruler and licentiousness in the people" will find equally in them "an inexorable foe."

We possess a distinct advantage over our neighbours to the South, in maintaining the influence amongst us of a sentimental history. The history of the old land is yet our own ; we are developing a great State without the instrumentality of the sword, so that the Abbey is yet our Westminster Abbey, and we hold an interest in a line of kings associated with the traditions and the development of a race. To despise the lessons, the traditions and the associations of the past is simply to declare ourselves uneducated or unread boors, mental hewers of wood and drawers of water. As wealth rises in our land, there is little doubt that in our sons and our daughters the effect of our connection with a historic past will lend steadiness and strength to our free National institutions, and mark, the great difference between the North and the South.

United States children are not educated to venerate any sentiment of the older past; this, of a surety, reacts upon their national character. The sentimentality of their country is bound up in one historic event, represented by the position which the Thirteen Colonies won and created for the Federal Union. They alone ceded to this Federal Union something of which they were possessed, namely a certain portion of their much prized and dearly bought independence, in order to create a nation. (1) The other States in this Federal Union of to-day (excepting Texas) never were in possession of anything to cede, they simply accepted what was created for them. Without a national sentiment of their own, they have, in accepting the constitution, adopted the traditions and the sentiments of the Thirteen Independent States.

Destroy this sentiment, and the States fall asunder of their own accord.

On our part a train of events, representing a sentiment deeply seated in the human heart, led up to the formation of another State upon this Continent, antagonistic, at that time, to the sentiment of the Independent States. Out of this has developed the Canadian nationality of to-day, neither hostile nor subservient to the greater American State ; and now, with the disappearance of the territorial rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, we, too, suddenly find our

(1) Freeman.

selves in a position to offer to new States our nationality, backed by the sentimentality involved in maintaining Imperial traditions.

Destroy this sentiment, and situated as we are, it is not possible for us to maintain our national life. Without any inborn sentiment towards the Thirteen Independent States, we would only disappear, "unhonoured and unsung"; but as it stands, within our Empire we remain one of a group of nations, and it is not easy to see why broad rules, applicable to individuals, should be inapplicable to nations. As Oliver Wendell Holmes put it, "Other things being equal, I will take the man of family." Why the man of family? Simply because of the effect which the sentimentality of family pride has upon the individual.

As Canadians, if we stand forth maintaining our own free institutions, there is no reason why the sentimentality involved in maintaining Imperial traditions should for one moment check our onward career. After all is said and done, Americans must confess to their English tongue; and for those of them who eventually make their homes amongst us, it will be a comparatively easy task, as our nationality develops throughout our great West, to lead their children back to the traditions of their ancestors, and one may ask, "other things being equal," in this Imperial pride, is there not an advantage for us?

GOOD ADVICE.

Advice is cheap. Canada has been favoured with a very large supply of this unprotected article, both raw and manufactured.

Mr. Goldwin Smith, an Englishman settled amongst us, but without a single Canadian sentiment or aspiration, would sacrifice Canadian nationality upon the altar of problematical race unity. Mr. Smith is very fond of talking about educated Americans; let him read what that educated American, Mr. Bancroft, has to say of a certain Mr. Huske, member for Malden, and let him realise, if he can, what educated Americans in their secret hearts think of him in the roll which he has adopted.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, a Scotchman, having made a fortune running into the millions as a protected manufacturer in the United States, considers himself perfectly qualified to pose as an authority upon many subjects entirely beyond his ken. Next to the United States, his native land is the object of his solicitude, and having presented his native town and some neighbouring cities with libraries, the usual modesty of the self-made man develops in his speeches. His native townsmen being under obligations to him show better breeding in receiving his unasked advice in silence than does our Americanized Midas in offering it. I would ask him, was the sending of Pinkerton's men to Homestead a sample of "Triumphant Democracy?"

As for Canada, he has lately placed his valuable opinion on record with regard to us. We are "suckling Colonists, a people without national aspirations," and various other equally broad and statesman-like observations. The history of Canada has, of course, been too small an affair for a mind such as his to trouble itself with; nevertheless, it is an encouraging mark of the times that he deigns to express himself regarding us. Yet, what would he have us do to prove that we have national aspirations? Strange to say, the proof of it would be the overthrowiug of any national aspirations which we might have formed, the obliteration of all that is signified in the

word " Canada," and the ranging of ourselves within the American Union as simply the different States of Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Quebec, and so on. Can he or anyone else point to a single instance in history in which a nation, in possession of self-government, voluntarily committed national suicide?

Norway finally allied itself with Sweden only because " its means of resistance were small." United Germany depends for its unity on the sentiment of a united fatherland—the United States will not accept the idea involved here. The case of Scotland is frequently brought forward, was she not the most northerly and the weaker of two countries? Did she not join England, the wealthier and the stronger power, and since that day has she not grown in wealth and in consideration, in union with her Southern neighbour? Why not carry this parallel one step further? Scotland, the weaker power, maintained her independence from the dawn of civilisation down to the eighteenth century, and only joined her Southern neighbour after that neighbour had accepted her Executive.

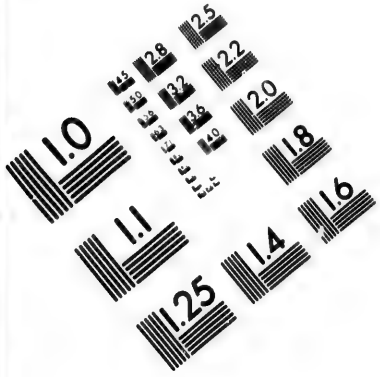
The history of that union is not the point here, but it may be asserted, that in the history and position of that Island and the history and position of this continent there is no parallel whatever, and the idea of such a comparison generated only in the minds of the unread.

But we are not a nation. Excuse me, we are :—

" What constitutes a State? Not turret,
or embattled tower, but men.
Freeborn men, who know their rights
and will defend them.
These constitute a State."

Time was when we were all Englishmen, Scotchmen, or Irishmen; we talked of " going home"; and Frenchmen were the only Canadians. Under Dominion, a generation has arisen who have accepted the natural cognomen of the French; and when Canadians talk of going " abroad," or " to England," the change in the designation of our old land marks without more formal recognition the advent of a new nation upon this Continent. Were other signs wanting, our desire to maintain ourselves is proof of national aspirations. They may not be those in sympathy with the political ideas of the United States; but what then?

The best advice which can be given Canada is to develop her own institutions, governing herself in whatever manner she pleases, and it is probable that so long as the British Empire lasts, she will hold her place in fitting rank, maintaining all of which that historic Imperial Crown is emblematical, before which mere nations dwarf into insignificance, and in common with Australia and Africa, rise in such strength as will be the best guarantee for peace at home and the development of the Anglo-Saxon race.



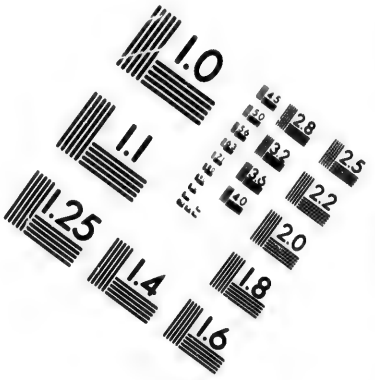
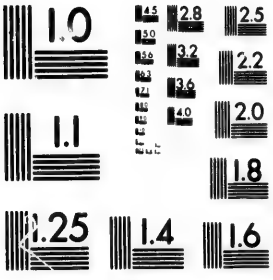
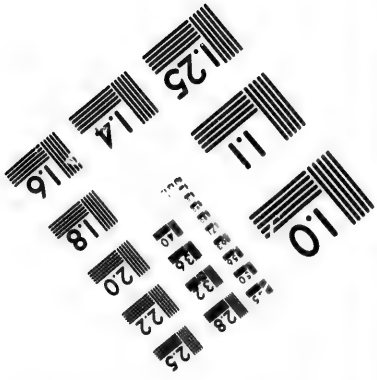


IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)





2.8
2.5
2.2
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INDUSTRIES OF ALL CANADA COMPILED FROM CENSUS BULLETIN No. 8.

	Employees 1891
Saw Mills	52,058
Fish Curing and Canning	29,039
Tailoring and Clothing	23,241
Boot and Shoe Factories	18,105
Foundries and Machine Shops	12,614
Blacksmithing	12,053
Carpenters and Joiners	9,726
Carriage-makers	9,040
Woolen Mills and Cloth	8,415
Cotton Mills	8,033
Printing and Publishing	7,640
Cabinet and Furniture	7,152
Brick and Tile Works	6,718
Flour and Grist Mills	6,296
Sash, Door and Blind Factories	5,720
Tin and Sheet Iron Works	4,939
Rolling Stock	4,900
Agricultural Implements	4,887
Bakeries	4,692
Tanneries	4,262
Marble and Stone Cutting	3,747
Cigar Factories	3,178
Cooperages	3,171
Ship Building	3,139
Shirt and Collar and Tie Manufacturers	3,057
Harness and Saddlery	3,055
Cheese Factories	3,007

Planing Mills	2,657
Lime Kilns	2,567
Hatters and Furriers	2,517
Musical Instruments	2,199
Fruit and Vegetable Canning	2,196
Tobacco Works	2,105
Paper Mills	2,104
Sugar Refinery	1,927
Smithing Works	1,901
Breweries	1,865
Meat Curing	1,687
Watchmaking and Jewellery	1,663
Bookbinding	1,320
Engine Building	1,256
Gas Works	1,164
Chemical Establishments	906
Press Stamp Die Works	127
Wood Turning	784
Cement Mills	243
Mattress-making	180
Picture-frame Making	367
Safe and Vault Works	180
Dyeing and Scouring Works	281
Paint and Varnish Works	536
Salt Works	246
Baking Powder and Flavouring	214
Hosiery	672
Rope and Twine	764
Sail-making	130
Starch and Blue Works	238
Packing Cases	323
Electric Lights	504
Oil Refiners	347
Paving Materials	222
Terra Cotta Works	130
Potteries	527
Glass Works	933

Electro Plating	239
Wire Works	861
Cartridge-making	271
Paper Collar Factories	150
Belting and Hose	127
Tents and Awnings	184
Creameries	425
Dried Fruits and Vegetables	350
Vinegar Works	300
Aerated Works	654
Distillers	424
Coffee and Spice	162
Brush and Broom Factories	771
Trunk and Valises	810
Soap and Candles	517
Paper-box Making	964
Engraving and Lithography	746
Gunpowder Mills	302
Boiler Works	445
Furnaces, Stove and Heaters	497
Edge Tools	873
Iron and Brass Fittings	781
Brass Foundries	586
Tinsmithing	215
Type Foundries	102
Washing Machines and Wringers	131
Nail and Lock Factories	869
Boat Building	824
Baby and Invalid Carriages	139
Lamps and Chandeliers	78
Gold and Silver Smiths	42
Block-making	75
Masts and Spars	45
Carving and Gilding	89
Springbed Making	78
Superphosphate Works	98
Pickle-making	83

Maltsters	43
Cork Cutting	65
Stationery	90
Gun Smiths	68
Piano Action	34
Cutlery	81
Glue Factories	53
Belting and Hose	16
Whip Factories	44
Basket-making	47
Maccaroni and Vermicelli	20
Asbestos and Pipe Covering	14
Saw and File Cutting	9
Tallow Refiners	7
Mathematical Instruments	7
Pattern and Moulding	6
All other industries	52,739
	367,496 hands.

No information given on "all other industries."

OCEAN FREIGHTS OUTWARDS.

Freights Outward from Montreal, 1892.

Actual charters.	Per 480 lbs. s.	d.	
May—			
3rd. Glasgow.....	2	6	
5th. London	2	6	
7th. Glasgow	3	3	
11th. Liverpool ...	2	3	
" London	2	3	
" Avonmonth ..	3		
16th. Liverpool.....	2	6	
18th. Liverpool.....	2	3	
" London.....	2	6	
June—			
2nd. Liverpool	2		
4th. Liverpool	1	9	
" Avonmouth...	2	6	
15th. Glasgow.....	2	4	½
23rd. London	2	9	
" Liverpool	2		
July—			
8th. London.....	2		
12th. Avonmouth...	1	7	½
15th. London.....	2		
26th. London	2	3	
29th. Liverpool	1	10	½
August—			
5th. Liverpool.....	1	10	½
13th. London.....	2	3	
19th. Avonmouth ...	2	3	
22nd. London	2	3	
23rd. Liverpool	1	6	
Sept—			
2nd. Avonmouth...	1	9	
7th. Liverpool.....	1	6	
8th. Glasgow.....	1	6	
9th. London.....	2		

Freights Outward from New York, 1892.

Actual charters reported, 480 lbs.	s.	d.	
May—			
21st. Liverpool.....	1	6	
" Glasgow.....	2	1	
" London.....	2		
23rd. Liverpool.....	1	4	
" London	1	8	
" Glasgow.....	1	10	
26th. London	1	4	
" Glasgow.....	1	10	
June—			
2nd. Liverpool.....	1	4	
4th. London	1		
" Glasgow.....	1	8	
11th. Liverpool.....	1	6	
15th. London.....	1	4	
28th. Liverpool.....	1	4	
" London	0	8	
" Glasgow.....	1	4	
July—			
1st. London	0	8	
" Glasgow.....	0	8	
8th. Liverpool.....	1	8	
16th. Glasgow.....	1		
" Liverpool.....	1	10	
" London	1	1	½
26th. London	1	6	
" Glasgow.....	1	4	
August—			
1st. London.....	1	8	
" Glasgow.....	1	8	
" Liverpool.....	1	9	
13th. London.....	1		
23rd. Liverpool.....	1		
" London.....	0	10	

Sept—			
15th.	Glasgow.....	1	9
24th.	Glasgow.....	1	6
28th.	London.....	2	3
October—			
4th.	Glasgow.....	2	3
"	Avonmouth...	2	9
12th.	Glasgow	2	9
15th.	Glasgow.....	3	
22nd.	Liverpool.....	3	3
25th.	Liverpool.....	3	3
Nov.—			
5th.	Liverpool.....	3	3
10th.	Liverpool.....	3	
11th.	London.....	3	
30th.	Glasgow.....	2	3

August—			
23rd.	Glasgow.....	1	
Sept.—			
8th.	Liverpool.....	1	
13th.	Liverpool.....	1	4
21st.	Glasgow.	1	8
"	Liverpool.....	1	4
"	London	0	10
30th.	Liverpool	1	8
Oct.—			
8th.	Liverpool.....	1	10
14th.	London.....	1	4
"	Liverpool.....	2	
29th.	Liverpool.....	2	2
Nov.—			
1st.	London.....	2	8
"	Glasgow.....	2	2
"	Liverpool.....	2	2
11th.	London..	1	6
"	Glasgow.....	1	8
"	Liverpool	1	6
18th.	Liverpool.....	1	4
26th.	London.....	2	
"	Liverpool.....	1	6
"	Glasgow.....	1	4

New York freights are subject to 5 per cent. primage, equal to about one penny a quarter extra.